



**INSIDE: The Overseas Press Club Awards**

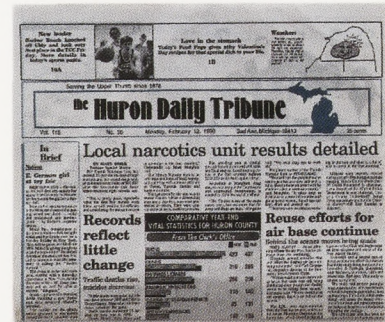
# DATELINE

May 7, 1990

## Freedom

**The Press  
in the New Age  
of Democracy**





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# DATELINE

The official  
magazine of the  
Overseas Press Club

May 7, 1990



**FREEDOM!**  
Technology,  
once seen as a  
threat to  
democracy,  
helped make the  
year of liberty.

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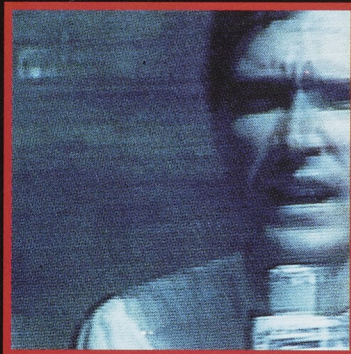
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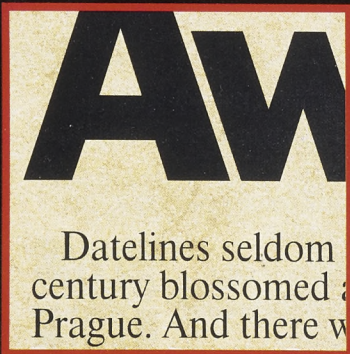
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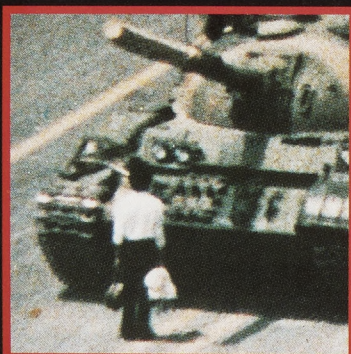
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Demonstrators in Prague's Wenceslas Square shortly before the ouster of Czechoslovakia's Communist government, December 1989.

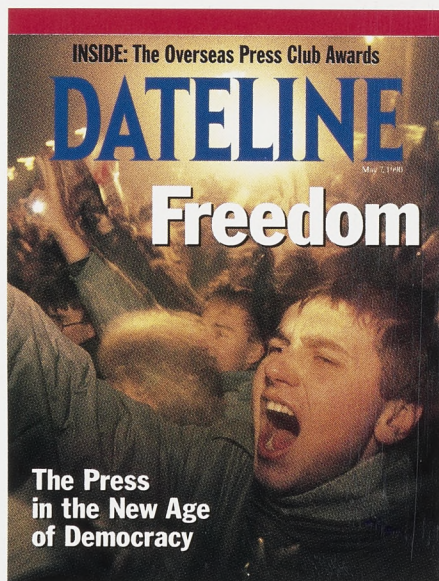
Photo by Christopher Morris—Black Star

### THIS PAGE:

A hand over the lens foreshadows the crackdown in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, June 1989.

Photo by Peter Charlesworth—JB Pictures





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A MESSAGE FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

## Helping Spark the Fires Of Truth and Freedom

BY PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

Shortly after World War II, President Harry Truman told the American Society of Newspaper Editors, "We cannot run the risk that nations may be lost to the cause of freedom because their people do not know the facts. I am convinced that we should greatly extend and strengthen our efforts to make the truth known to people in all the world."

Here in America we believe in the free press. Every day about 1,400 local television stations, 1,600 daily newspapers and over 10,000 radio stations—each one fiercely independent of any government control—report on candidates for office; government policies; local, national and international events.

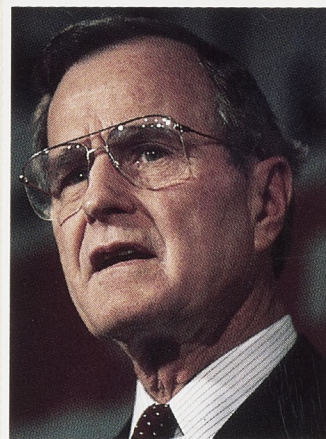
Today people from Panama to Poland are winning their struggle for freedom. Thanks to the scrutiny that no government can now escape, the spirit is catching. For example, the staff of one Czechoslovak Socialist Party daily newspaper, *Svobodné Slovo* (Free World), announced last winter that the paper would no longer parrot the official line and would become an independent journal. Then workers at the government-controlled television stations threatened to shut down broadcasts unless coverage of public demonstrations was both prominent and fair. Soon after, the nightly news began featuring film clips of the protests at Wenceslas Square.

In Czechoslovakia and Hungary people watched television coverage as the "Revolution of '89" evolved and the Berlin Wall fell. In Timisoara, Romania, a pastor in the Hungarian Reformed Church decried the tyranny of the Bucharest regime on Hungarian television. After the interview, he was barred from meeting with his family and finally imprisoned. Lech Walesa wrote to the brave priest, "Even prison walls will not be able to hide what is noble and good from the eyes of the world." Walesa was right—and now the people of Romania are building democracy. In Managua the publisher of the once outlawed newspaper *La Prensa* has been elected President after years of censorship by the Marxist Sandinistas.

Your work overseas as foreign correspondents and editors has helped spark the fires of truth and freedom. In those faraway countries the truth has set men free. In so many cities and villages around the world, "the wall" separating the people and their God-given freedom has come down. And it has come down because people know that freedom means the right to question and change the established way of doing things and that no government has a monopoly on the truth. As long as there is a free press in this world, the walls will continue to come down.

The idea of freedom is alive everywhere. Pope John Paul II, a great religious and spiritual leader and also a Polish patriot, wrote years ago, "Freedom has continually to be won, it cannot merely be possessed. It comes as a gift but can only be kept with a struggle." Each of you is an important part of that on-going struggle.

I salute the members of the Overseas Press Club and send you my best wishes on this occasion. God bless you, and God bless America. **OPC**



CYNTHIA JOHNSON

**People from Panama to Poland are winning their struggle for freedom.**



# WORLD MONITOR



## Voices in unison.

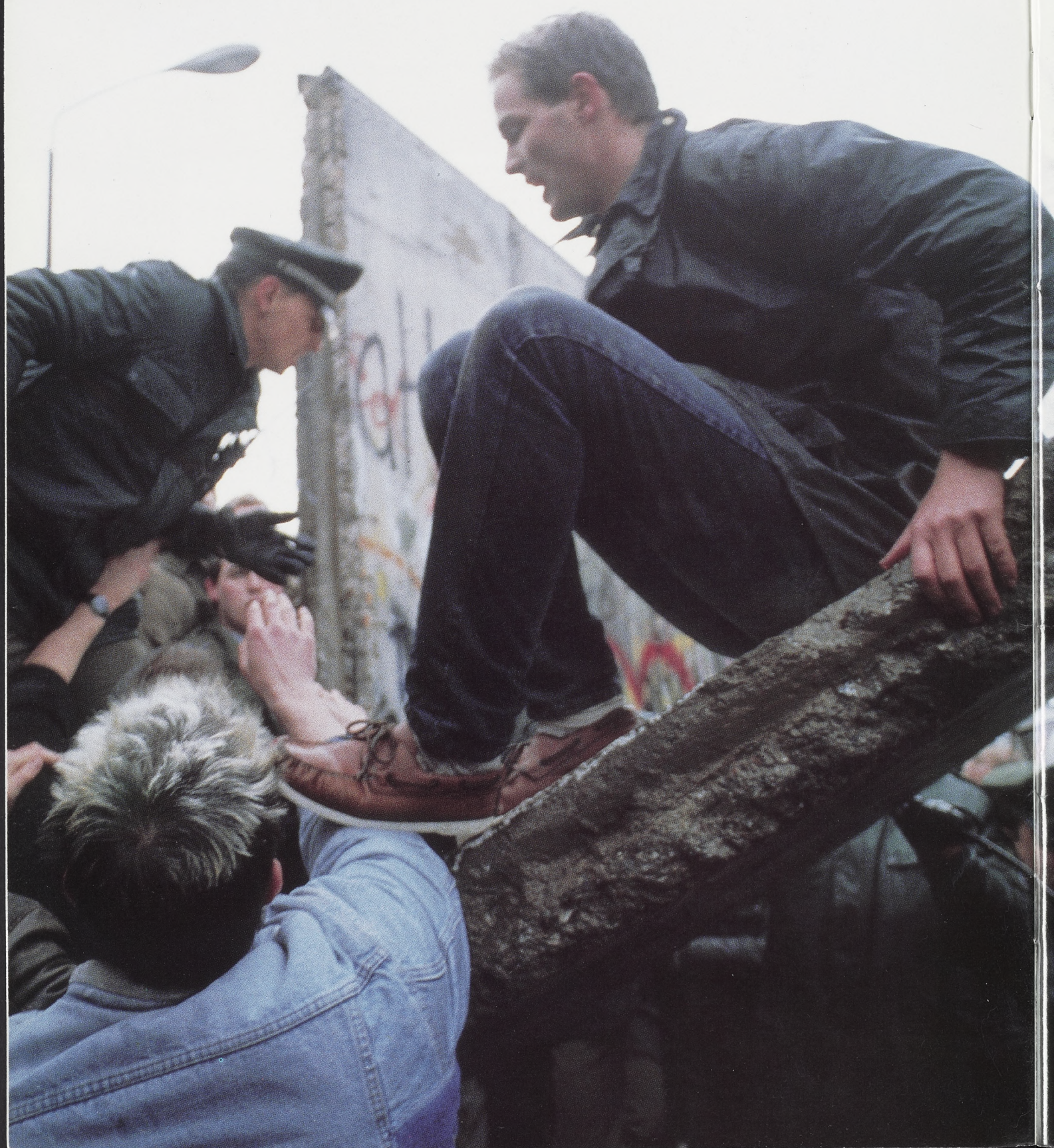
The Christian Science Monitor. A Pulitzer-winning international daily newspaper, once available to a limited few, can now be heard, read, and seen by millions around the world. On national and international radio programming. In a monthly magazine. And on a nightly television news program. The global

expansion of this journalistic tradition of excellence is dedicated to bringing people everywhere an accurate, unbiased perspective on the news; clarity to complex issues; and celebration to human achievement. Today's Christian Science Monitor is more than a newspaper. It's a global voice.



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR  
A G L O B A L V O I C E







# 1984, Meet 1989

BY OTTO FRIEDRICH

*"And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."*

—John 8: 32

**I**n George Orwell's *1984*, where many of us learned how to think about the methods of the totalitarian state, it was axiomatic that Big Brother remained invincible because his Ministry of Truth controlled all the media, numbing the citizenry with those unforgettable slogans, "War Is Peace," "Freedom Is Slavery" and "Ignorance Is Strength." Media meant not just the press or those two-way telescreens that watched everyone, but also plays, novels, school textbooks, astrology, pornography, everything. The Ministry of Truth controlled the language itself, which was in the process of being converted into Newspeak. "By 2050—earlier probably . . . the whole literature of the past will have been destroyed," according to one expert who was happily engaged in revising the dictionary. "Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron—they'll exist only in Newspeak versions . . . Even the slogans will change. How could you have a slogan like 'Freedom Is Slavery' when the concept of freedom has been abolished? The whole climate of thought will be different. In fact, there will *be* no thought, as we understand it now."





When 1984 actually arrived, we all breathed a symbolic sigh of relief. Big Brother was not really in charge—not yet—and there was no Ministry of Truth. But critics of both right and left joined in praising Orwell, arguing mainly about whose side he would be on if he had lived to see 1984. Only in the past year have we realized how profoundly wrong Orwell was in one of his major views. In Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, South Africa and Central America, the authoritarian regimes that seemed invulnerable a few decades ago are not, it turns out, invulnerable at all. One major reason is that the Ministry of Truth's goal of controlling all information proved to be an illusion.

"The whole world is watching!" the young demonstrators chanted during their stormy confrontations with the Chicago police at the 1968 Democratic National Convention. And it was true. Whatever the TV cameras wanted to look at was news around the globe. That had a limited effect in 1968 because most people were not greatly impressed by what they saw in Chicago. But last June the whole world caught its breath at the spectacle of one young Chinese standing alone in the path of a column of oncoming tanks.

The role of the press in the past year's onward march of democracy has been many sided. One purpose, of course, is simply to report that such things happen, that times are changing. Another is to show the demonstrators that the world is indeed watching, that the lone youth standing in front of the tank is actually not alone. A third is to prove to potential demonstrators in other countries that the unthinkable is perfectly possible.

The first force that cracked the Berlin Wall was West German television, which not only kept showing Easterners the material prosperity taken for granted in the West but also spread the word that the Hungarians were allowing East Germans to cross the frontier into West Germany. That news inspired thousands of East Germans to head for Hungary, and tens of thousands more to take to the streets with their demands for freedom. And the sight of the crowds in East Berlin encouraged more crowds in Prague, and vice versa. These things were seen in Bucharest too, where the photographs of the victims of secret-police gunfire strengthened the fledgling resistance.

It is easy to use TV as the eponym for all the media, but

## TWELVE MONTHS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

APRIL 1989

TOM HALEY—SIPA



Beijing simmers

**POLAND:** The Jaruzelski government and Solidarity agree to legalize the independent trade union and hold free elections. **HUNGARY:** *Datum*, the first independent daily newspaper, starts up. **CHINA:** Pro-democracy protests erupt following the death of Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang.

MAY 1989

**CHINA:** Pro-democracy demonstrations continue. Martial law is imposed, and Western television ordered to cease broadcasting from China. **HUNGARY:** Soldiers begin to dismantle barbed wire along the border with Austria. Janos Kadar, Hungary's Communist Party chief since 1956, is ousted and replaced by the more moderate Karoly Grosz. **PANAMA:** General Manuel Antonio Noriega invalidates presidential elections after early results point to an opposition victory. **PARAGUAY:** General Andrés Rodríguez wins presidential balloting after his February coup, which ended the 34-year dictatorship of General Alfredo Stroessner. **POLAND:** The first Solidarity newspaper ever to be published legally comes off the press.

JUNE 1989

**POLAND:** Solidarity sweeps parliamentary elections. President Jaruzelski says the election results show a need for the Communist Party to change. **CHINA:** The government massacres hundreds of students in Tiananmen Square and launches a crackdown on political liberalization. Communist Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang is ousted by Premier Li Peng. **HUNGARY:** After the government announces an end to Communist Party control of the media, scores of independent publications are launched. Memorial service of Prime Minister Imre Nagy, executed after the 1956 Hungarian insurrection, is broadcast nationwide. Independent TV and radio stations are established.

JULY 1989

CHRIS NIEDERTHAL



Old enemies meet

**POLAND:** Jaruzelski invites Solidarity to join a coalition government. Movement leaders refuse. **CHINA:** The government bans sale of foreign newspapers and magazines. **SOVIET UNION:** In a televised speech, President Mikhail Gorbachev says ethnic and nationalities issues endanger "the destiny and integrity" of the Soviet Union.

AUGUST 1989

CHIP HIRES—GAMMA LIAISON



Heading West

**EAST BLOC:** West German diplomatic missions in East Berlin, Budapest and Prague overflow with East Germans seeking to emigrate. **POLAND:** Tadeusz Mazowiecki becomes Poland's first non-Communist Prime Minister since World War II. **MYANMAR (BURMA):** The military regime, which cracked down on pro-democracy demonstrators July 20, places opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest.

SEPTEMBER 1989

DAVID BARRIT—GAMMA LIAISON



De Klerk faces change

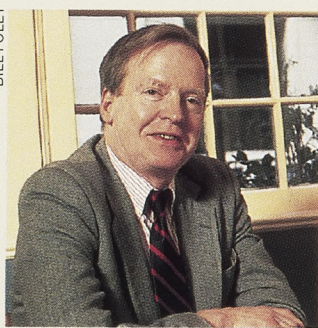
**HUNGARY:** Breaking an accord with East Germany, the Grosz government opens its border with Austria, allowing the exit of a flood of East Germans gathered at the West German embassy in Budapest. The regime and its opposition agree to create a multiparty political system by 1990. **SOUTH AFRICA:** F.W. de Klerk, sworn in as State President, promises a new era of change.



technology keeps offering new systems for eluding the censors. When Beijing cut off live TV coverage from Tiananmen Square, many Chinese students in the U.S. used fax machines to send home American reports on the crisis. Smugglers brought in videotapes of uncensored Hong Kong telecasts. And the satellite dish knows no frontiers.

Underlying all this is an underground press that has finally emerged into the sunlight. Poland's Solidarity movement began in the spring of 1989 to publish Eastern Europe's first independent daily newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Circulation soon soared to more than 500,000, and the paper played a key role in Solidarity's June 4 election victory. That success was not accomplished without some unexpected setbacks. *Gazeta's* formerly uncensored

BILL FOLEY



**FORMER MANAGING EDITOR OF THE SATURDAY EVENING POST AND A GENERAL EDITOR AT NEWSWEEK, FRIEDRICH WAS A CORRESPONDENT FOR UNITED PRESS IN PARIS AND LONDON. THE AUTHOR OF ELEVEN BOOKS, HE IS NOW A SENIOR WRITER FOR TIME.**

underground journalists had to accept official censorship when they moved aboveground (that censorship has been unofficially abandoned). And now that Poland is struggling toward a market economy, the price of newsprint has shot up 1,000% since last July. As a result, *Gazeta* has had to double its price, and its circulation has slumped by 150,000. There have, of course, been other setbacks in this global war of words—most notably in China, where the Ministry of Truth remains in

power and wrapped in the old miasmal mist. The government denies much of what happened in Tiananmen Square, denies the problems and rejects the protests. The slogan remains: "Ignorance Is Strength." The main change, perhaps, is that nobody believes it anymore. **OPC**

#### OCTOBER 1989



Honecker faces reality

**EAST GERMANY:** After weeks of demonstrations, Erich Honecker is forced out as Communist Party chief and replaced by Egon Krenz. **HUNGARY:** The Communist Party disbands. Parliament rewrites the constitution to allow a multiparty system and plans free elections in 1990. **POLAND:** A Solidarity journalist is named editor in chief of the government daily *Rzeczpospolita*.

#### NOVEMBER 1989

**NAMIBIA:** Free elections are held. The insurgent South West Africa People's Organization wins. **CZECHOSLOVAKIA:** After demonstrations in Prague, the Communist Party leadership resigns. A new government promises free elections. Czech radio broadcasts the protests live. **EAST GERMANY:** The government ends restrictions on immigration or travel to the West. The Berlin Wall opens. Prime Minister Willi Stoph and his Cabinet resign. Hans Modrow takes office as Prime Minister. The editor of the Communist Party daily *Neues Deutschland* is replaced by a reformer. Protesters in Leipzig call for German unification and the dissolution of the Communist Party. Thousands of East Germans immigrate daily to the West. **BULGARIA:** Todor Zhivkov, party leader since 1954, is replaced by moderate Petar Mladenov.

#### DECEMBER 1989

**BRAZIL:** First direct presidential elections since 1960 are held. Francisco Collor de Mello wins. **EAST GERMANY:** The Communist Party loses its constitutional monopoly on power. Gregor Gysi, a liberal, is elected as party chairman in place of Krenz. **CZECHOSLOVAKIA:** Hard-liners resign; a new government pledges elections. Alexander Dubcek and Vaclav Havel join the government. **ROMANIA:** The 24-year Ceausescu regime is overthrown, and the dictator and his wife executed. **CHILE:** Voters in the first presidential election since 1970 oust General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte and select Christian Democratic leader Patricio Aylwin. **PANAMA:** The U.S. invades, overthrowing Noriega and bringing him to Miami for trial.

#### JANUARY 1990

**POLAND:** Lech Walesa demands the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland by 1991. **BULGARIA:** The constitutionally guaranteed role of the Communist Party is revoked. **ROMANIA:** The Communist Party is briefly banned by the hastily formed National Salvation Front. **CZECHOSLOVAKIA:** Prime Minister Marian Calfa quits the Communist Party. Talks with Moscow over the Soviet troop pullout end without agreement. **EAST GERMANY:** Communist leader Gysi urges a pullout of U.S. and Soviet forces from the two Germanys by 1999. **SOVIET UNION:** Gorbachev begins a three-day visit to Lithuania and pleads with the Lithuanians not to leave the Soviet Union.

#### FEBRUARY 1990

**HUNGARY:** Budapest and Moscow begin discussions about Soviet troop withdrawals. **CZECHOSLOVAKIA:** The ruling Communists hand over 100 of 350 parliamentary seats to new political parties. **BULGARIA:** Party chief Mladenov is replaced by reformer Alexander Lilov. **SOUTH AFRICA:** The African National Congress is legalized, and Nelson Mandela is freed. **NICARAGUA:** The Sandinista government loses to Chamorro's UNO party in open elections. **EAST GERMANY:** Modrow proposes German unification. **SOVIET UNION:** Regional and municipal elections begin. **LITHUANIA:** Voters give a new parliament a strong mandate to pursue independence from the Soviet Union.

#### MARCH 1990

**SOVIET UNION:** The Communist Party gives up its constitutional monopoly on power and creates a strong presidential system of government. In the Ukraine, Russia and Belorussia elections are held for local and republic government seats. **LATVIA AND ESTONIA:** Multiparty elections are held. **LITHUANIA:** The Soviet army seizes Lithuanian buildings and rounds up military deserters. **HUNGARY:** The Communist Party is defeated in the first free multiparty elections since 1945. **EAST GERMANY:** In the first free elections since 1932, the Christian Democrats win a strong plurality. German unification appears imminent. **NAMIBIA:** After 75 years of South African rule, Namibia becomes independent.



## HUNGARY

**An editor worries, "The real function of the press is to inform. But without a legal and moral framework, standards could rapidly decline."**

THE RACY PAPER *MAI NAP* HAS ATTRACTED READERS—INCLUDING RUPERT MURDOCH, WHO HAS ACQUIRED A STAKE.



GABOR MONUS—INTERFOTO MTI

# Freedom— And New Dilemmas

BY JOHN BORRELL

**T**he special cream-colored phone on the desk of Ales Benda had not rung once since he moved in as chief editor of CTK, the Czechoslovak News Agency. "Not a single message or call," he said last December, a full week after his appointment. As he spoke he eyed the headset of the hot line quizzically as if still not quite believing that the Central Committee of Czechoslovakia's Communist Party was no longer issuing daily instructions on how to handle the news. "Wait and see" used to be the first and most important rule around here, and in journalism generally," he said. "Only when you had received the official line did you write."

One of Benda's first official acts was to store face down in a cupboard an oil painting of Lenin that had hung in the chief editor's office for as long as anyone could remember. Then he fired several agency hard-liners and encouraged the rest of the staff to report the news as they saw it. He even began handing out spot bonuses for outstanding examples of the new journalism he advocated. But old habits die hard. When Benda called the newsroom during his first week in office to find out why the agency had not covered a meeting between Vaclav Havel, now Czechoslovakia's President, and Communist Party leader Karel Urbanek, he was told, "No one called to tell us to come."

Benda has gone on to become CTK's Washington correspondent, but his first puzzling week on the job illustrates nicely some of the dilemmas facing journalists throughout Eastern Europe. Last year's revolutions swept away an ideology that made information a privilege rather than a right. The same revolutions opened up closed societies to scrutiny and self-criticism, made politics less predictable and provided readers and journalists alike with choices that were never available during four decades of doctrinaire centralism. But at the same time, communism's collapse has not automatically changed attitudes or long-established practices. And even where it has, there is as yet no certainty that the press will be uniformly better than it was. Worries Ivan Lipovecz, editor in chief of *Heti Világazdaság* (World Economics Weekly), a respected Hungarian periodical: "The real function of the press is to inform. But without a legal and moral framework, standards could rapidly decline."

Eastern Europe's press may not automatically be better, but it will certainly be brighter. Lively new newspapers, like Czechoslovakia's *Lidové Noviny* and Poland's *Gazeta Wyborcza*, are already pushing established dailies to change their ways. In Czechoslovakia the party newspaper *Rude právo* (circ. 800,000 and falling) has shifted from a broadsheet to a tabloid in dimensions, and its new editor, Zdenek Porybný, talks of making other changes in order to "save this newspaper." East Germany's party newspaper *Neues Deutschland*, which once ran 43 photographs of Communist leader Erich Honecker in a





## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**When CTK's chief editor called his newsroom to find out why the agency had not covered an important meeting, he was told, "No one called to tell us to come."**

THE OFFICIAL LINE: A YOUNG MAN PERUSES A COPY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY DAILY *PRÁVDA*.

single issue, is also becoming less gray: its new format includes a personality column and a crossword puzzle.

*Neues Deutschland* may never be able to quicken a reader's pulse, but Hungary's weekly *Reform* is certainly trying. The tabloid has built its circulation from 100,000 to 500,000 in 18 months with a mixture of news, sensationalism and bare flesh. Not only has it drawn readers more accustomed to endless columns of apparatchik gray, it has also attracted the attention of international press lord Rupert Murdoch, who recently acquired a 49% stake in the weekly and its racy stablemate, *Mai Nap*, an evening daily. Murdoch, not known for prudery in print, is said to have suggested that some of the photographs in *Reform* may be just a little too graphic.

One of Murdoch's rivals, Robert Maxwell, has joined the fray in Hungary and may buy into a newspaper elsewhere in the bloc. Maxwell has a 40% share of *Magyar Hirlap* (circ. 100,000), formerly owned by the government and for many years almost as boring as *Neues Deutschland*. *Magyar Hirlap* is currently losing money, but Maxwell, who is expected to inject much needed capital into the newspaper, believes it will return a profit within two years. "The government was interested in publishing long, boring and stupid articles," says the London-based Maxwell. Those who know some of Maxwell's other publications (the *Daily Mirror*, the *People* and the *Sunday Mirror*) are certain that stories in *Magyar Hirlap* will soon cease to be either long or boring.

Western capital may transform some of the region's news outlets, but more than money is needed to introduce Western standards of fairness. In Romania, for example, the official news agency Agerpress, once uncritical of Ceausescu, is now virtually a mouthpiece of the National Salvation Front, the provisional revolutionary government. Other political parties get little time on television or on the state-run radio. In Bulgaria during the recent campaign for the restoration of civic and religious rights to the country's 1.2 million ethnic Turks, most newspapers took a flatly chauvinistic line in their reporting. Significantly, both countries have governments composed largely of Communists or former Communists.

But where the Communists have been more thoroughly routed, objectivity is frequently becoming the order of the day. At PAP, the official Polish news agency, the

secret "for your eyes only" services previously available only to top government and party officials are now open to all subscribers. The agency has started an economic wire, delivered via the state radio-communications network, that enables subscribers to avoid Warsaw's run-down public telephone network.

PAP and other agencies and magazines in the bloc are sprucing up their news coverage as well. During the fall of the Ceausescu regime, Western news agencies frequently quoted from reports filed by PAP's correspondent in Bucharest, Stanislaw Wojnarowicz. "For 30 hours he was the best informed journalist in Bucharest," says Bogdan Jachacz, PAP chairman and editor in chief. "He just described things exactly as they happened."

That in itself was a big departure. Until last year's revolutions, it was an exception for a news organization in Eastern Europe to report critically, however truthfully, on another Warsaw Pact country. Most governments had agreements to take reports about another country only from their official news agency, a practice that encouraged millions of East Europeans to listen to foreign radio stations to find out what was really happening.

East Europeans are not the only ones who take their news media more seriously, and it is no longer a question of reading between the lines and looking for nuances. Says Waltraut Barily, Vienna-based correspon-

CHRIS NIEDENTHAL



**BORRELL IS TIME'S EASTERN EUROPE BUREAU CHIEF. A FORMER CORRESPONDENT FOR THE LONDON GUARDIAN, HE JOINED TIME IN 1982 IN NAIROBI AND LATER COVERED THE MIDDLE EAST AND LATIN AMERICA.**



dent for France's *Le Monde*: "MTI [the Hungarian News Agency] is outspoken and reports unhesitatingly about economic mistakes. The political service is also reliable." But Eastern Europe's agencies remain slower than their Western counterparts. "They still haven't adjusted to our rat race," says Barily.

In some cases, however, East European journalists are having to make this adjustment rapidly. When longtime Solidarity activist Dariusz Fikus became editor in chief last fall of the Warsaw daily *Rzeczpospolita* (circ. 250,000), he looked forward to shaking up a staid government newspa-

per that had rarely departed from the official line. Now Fikus worries less about putting some life into the newspaper than simply keeping it alive. "We are facing bankruptcy," he says.

Five more of Warsaw's eight daily newspapers face similar serious financial problems. So do most of the country's three dozen provincial dailies. Poland's Solidarity government, committed to a Western-style market economy, has done away with most state subsidies and is insisting on market prices for supplies and services. As a result, the cost of newsprint has gone up more than 1,000% in just a

few months. Compounding the financial problems of newspapers in Poland is the fact that income from paid subscriptions—generally some 80% of circulation—is being eaten away by inflation, which last year topped 1,000%.

Elsewhere in Eastern Europe, scores of other newspapers are threatened by market forces. This might seem ironic at a time when the region's press is free for the first time in four decades to report things as they are. But the reality in much of Eastern Europe is that the accountant's red pencil has suddenly become as feared as the censor's once was. **OPC**

## Why I Appreciate the Press

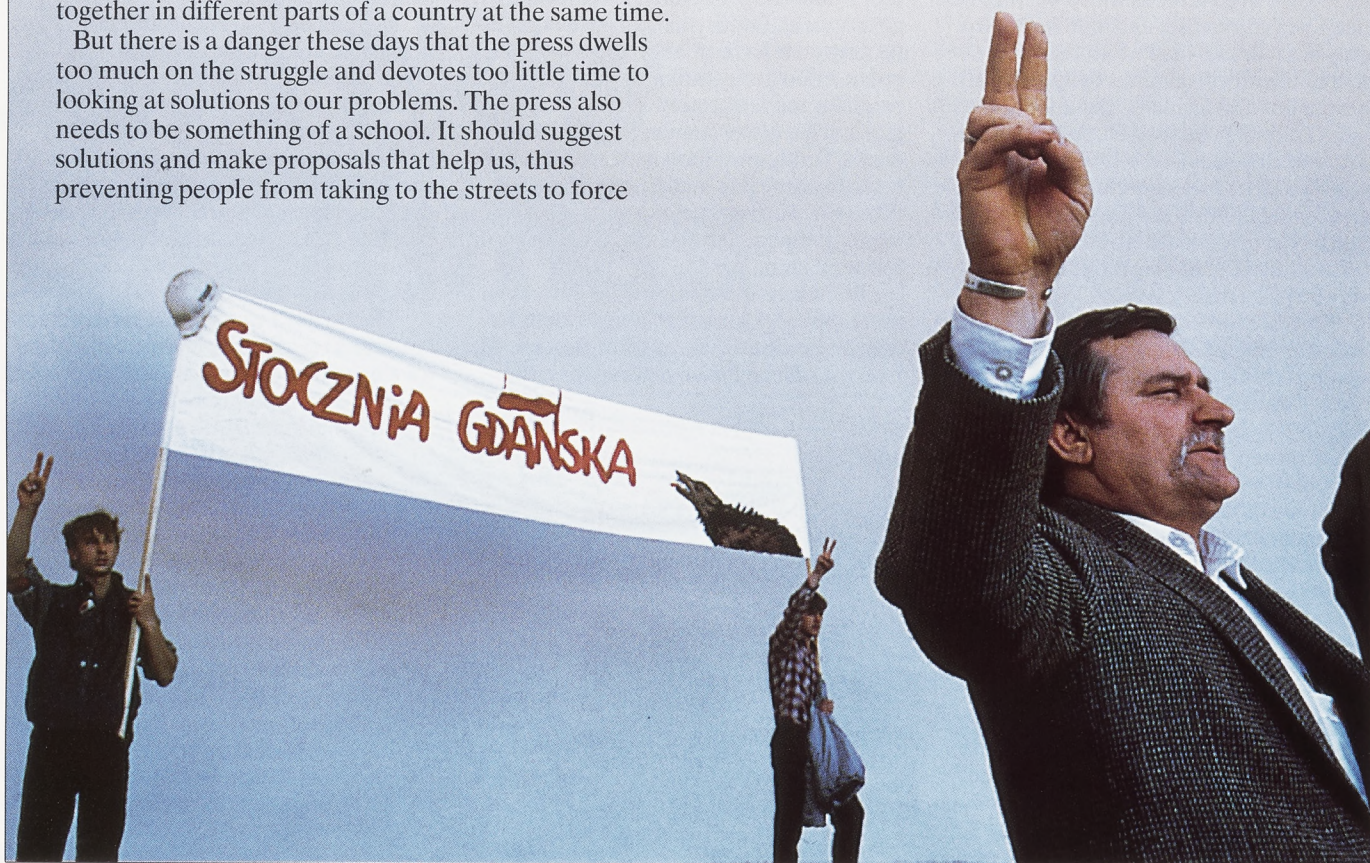
BY LECH WALESIA

**W**ithout the press, hardly anything would get done these days. It is the press that delivers information to us. It is the press that forces us to reflect. It is the press that suggests solutions. Without the press it would have been impossible for Solidarity to have been created, just as it would have been impossible to begin our process of reform in Poland. I myself would not exist as a politician without the press. The press allows for corrections in political processes. It enables people to become involved, and it helps people with the same ideas and sympathies get together in different parts of a country at the same time.

But there is a danger these days that the press dwells too much on the struggle and devotes too little time to looking at solutions to our problems. The press also needs to be something of a school. It should suggest solutions and make proposals that help us, thus preventing people from taking to the streets to force

solutions. We need concrete solutions to our problems because we face the task of passing smoothly from our present system to one that is similar to those in the West. But if the reform is too slow it may provoke undesirable effects, even revolution, in the countries of Eastern Europe. People may also seek to escape by emigrating. This could be as much as 60% of the population of Eastern Europe. A dramatic destabilization and disorder in Europe and the world may threaten us unless we reform our system fast. **OPC**

BERNARD BISSON—SYGMA





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# To Die in Bucharest: Thoughts On the Loss of a Colleague

BY OLIVIER WARIN

**T**he sky is translucent, cloudless. In front of the international airport in Bucharest, peasants in semifolk costume load an ox-drawn cart with freshly mown hay. The golden blades impaled on wooden pitchforks against a backdrop of radar equipment and airplane rudders form a kind of Marxist heraldry. It is midsummer, but the airport is full of men in gray suits, all holding black umbrellas impeccably rolled into identical black nylon covers.

The date is Aug. 2, 1975. President Gerald Ford is arriving on a state visit any minute. Officials have rolled out the red carpet, set up a dais with two microphones and cordoned off a section of tarmac for journalists. President Nicolae Ceausescu is waiting in a lounge inside the terminal.

The men with black umbrellas are members of the Securitate, the secret police. In their identical civilian disguises, they have a childlike cartoon-character look. There is still enough to eat in Romania in 1975, even if only one or two dishes from the long restaurant menus are available. Intellectuals talk freely among themselves, though they avoid openly attacking the regime. People still laugh occasionally. Of course, obtaining a passport is impossible. Political prisons are filling up; the press is muzzled. But Ceausescu's international prestige is high. French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac has paid a friendly visit, and now the U.S. President is on his way.

Dec. 22, 1989. A team from the French television channel La Cinq is at the Hungarian border, ready to enter Romania as soon as the frontier opens. The news is increasingly alarming: the revolt has reached Bucharest, many Romanians have been killed, no one is betting on Ceausescu any longer. The news team is eager to get there.

I am in my office at La Cinq when the call comes in asking me to go. I love Romania, know it well and have many friends there. I have dreamed for years of covering the fall of the dictator. But it's impossible for me to leave Paris now. I have decorated the Christmas tree with my two-year-old son. I can't let him or my pregnant wife down at a time like this.

There are two sorts of reporters:



P. HABANS—SYGMA

CALDERON REPORTING FROM ROMANIA IN DECEMBER 1989

**Jean-Louis was entrusted with the duty to bear witness. If you kill the witnesses, how can you bring the world to trial?**

those who always carry a passport and a toothbrush in their pocket, and those who don't. I belong to the first category, except at Christmas. Jean-Louis Calderon is always ready to go. We have shared the same office for 2½ years, and the same values and enthusiasms for even longer. I hear his stormy conversation with his wife and two daughters over the phone. In the time it takes to

find a plane, he is gone, accompanied by cameraman Patrice du Tertre, another great friend. To be honest, I envy them both.

Memories overwhelm me. Four Christmases earlier, Du Tertre and I were reporting undercover from Bucharest. Romania had entered its darkest years: oil, gas, electricity and food rationing, interminable

lines in front of empty stores. Sinister repression. An unbridled personality cult. We carried home-video cameras, tourist visas, boxes of Kent cigarettes to offer as bribes. Du Tertre hid his camera in a travel bag with a hole in the end so that he could film without being noticed.

One morning as we left our hotel, we discovered we were being followed by men in identical *chapkas*, cheap fur jackets, some with walkie-talkies protruding from their pockets. Occasionally, we

E. JOBIN



**A REPORTER FOR THE FRENCH TELEVISION CHANNEL LA CINQ, WARIN ACCOMPANIED THE BODY OF HIS COLLEAGUE JEAN-LOUIS CALDERON BACK TO PARIS. CALDERON WAS KILLED DEC. 22 DURING THE FIGHTING TO OVERTHROW ROMANIAN DICTATOR NICOLAE CEAUSESCU.**



would test our suspicions. I would run across the street just as the light was changing, and a vast but discreet mass of a dozen men in *chapkas* would follow—the same sort of transparent civilian disguise I'd seen in 1975 at the airport, but this time the cartoon-character quality was gone. One of our colleagues had been beaten by the Securitate. After calming our nerves in the closest bar, we returned to the hotel where a summons from the French ambassador awaited us. How did he know we were in Bucharest?

His Excellency received us with great

trip to Romania, our tapes were sequestered. It took days of negotiating to recover and broadcast them.

Dec. 23, 1989. A phone call at dawn, a startled awakening, immediate anguish.

"Jean-Louis is dead."

Disbelief. He left only last night . . .

"Haven't you heard the news? The battle has been raging all night long in Bucharest . . ."

How did it happen?

"He was run over by a tank . . ."

bear witness. If you kill the witnesses, how can you bring the world to trial?

Dec. 26, 1989. The airport at Varna, Bulgaria. Calderon has become a hero in the land where he died. His coffin is draped with the flag of the liberated Romania: the old banner with the hammer and sickle torn out. French President François Mitterrand has sent his condolences to Calderon's wife Béatrice in a beautiful telegram. Unfortunately, Mitterrand's sentiment was not transmitted to his diplomatic corps. Du Tertre escorted Calderon's body from Bucharest to Varna accompanied only by the coffin's sealer and a Bulgarian driver, who spoke no Romanian and got lost crossing the Danube. In a country under siege, the French embassy did not see fit to provide a diplomatic escort.

At the airport at Varna, where I awaited Calderon's body and Du Tertre, there was no sign of any French diplomat to help with logistics. I spent hours of anguished waiting, with no news. When the body finally arrived, we had to carry it to the plane in a snowstorm. Upon arrival at the airport in Paris, Béatrice threw herself on the coffin. "It's not true, my Jean-Louis. You can't be in there . . ." No words to be said, no comfort to give. Only our presence.

Calderon's death is a tragic but symbolic outcome of an incredible year. Who recalls that it all began on Feb. 13, at the Kabul airport? Calderon, Du Tertre and I were there, but we didn't believe the Soviets would really leave Afghanistan, until we saw the door of the Antonov close on the last salute of an anonymous soldier.

What political analyst could have foreseen the series of cataclysms that followed: China, Poland, Hungary, the Berlin Wall, Romania? 1989 was the year of the media, the year of the camera and the satellite, in which everything happened live before the whole world's eyes. The watch we kept influenced the unfolding of events, so that the events we filmed became engraved in stone.

That was the year of journalists and reporters, not of diplomats or politicians. Not having lived under 25 years of sinister dictatorship, some Western officials expressed outrage at the "trial" and execution of the Ceausescus, an event that helped a nation rediscover its capacity for living. What right did these officials have to speak, after having kept silent for 25 years?

The culmination of that year of the media was the Romanian revolution, which chose television as the axis of its words and events. The journalist was no longer a mere witness, but an active participant in history. Perhaps this did not make much sense until one of ours died, consigning to the trash heap all those obsolete definitions of a now sullied word: objectivity. **OPC**



ANTHONY SUAU—BLACK STAR

CITY UNDER SIEGE: SOLDIERS DEFEND THEIR POSITION

**1989 was the year of the media, the year of the camera, in which everything happened live before the world's eyes. The watch we kept influenced the unfolding of events.**

disdain. The Romanian authorities were aware of our presence and our hostile intentions. They had a transcript of our conversation with a "dissident." The ambassador ordered us to leave the country at once for the sake of Franco-Romanian relations. We smiled inwardly, knowing that the main part of our taped report had already left for Paris by diplomatic pouch, thanks to a friend at the embassy.

The Securitate continued to follow, intimidate, threaten and eavesdrop on us. But the worst awaited us in Paris. Our friend at the embassy had confessed his involvement with us to the ambassador. Since Roland Dumas, France's Minister of Foreign Affairs, was planning an official

While Calderon and his crew were filming a demonstration at the presidential palace, the Securitate began shooting. As the army advanced in retaliation, one of the tank drivers did not see Calderon in his path.

I felt as if my own bones had been crushed. Then a series of horrid ruminations: if I had gone, I would have died instead. Or rather, if I had gone, no one would have been killed because I have more war experience. A veteran reporter leaves a wake of blood behind him: victims of war and rebellion disfigured by napalm, carbonized by phosphorus, fragmented by car bombs. But the death of a friend, a brother? Calderon, 31, was entrusted with the duty to



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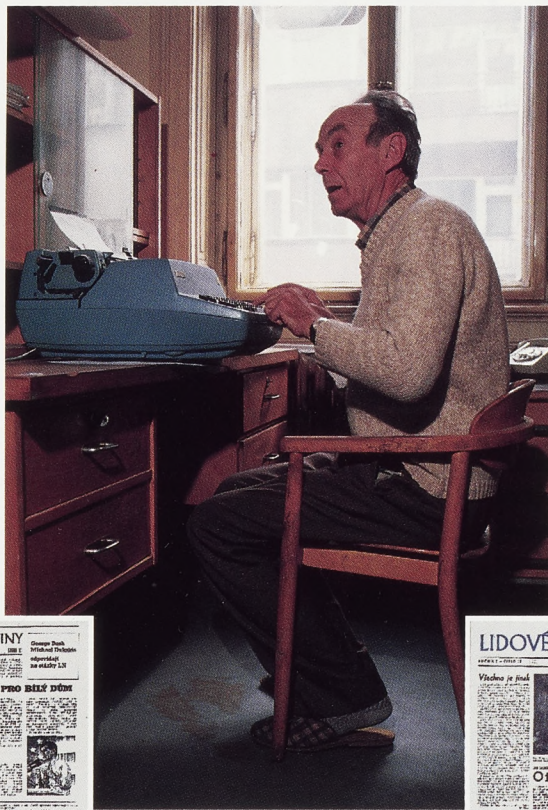
# In a New Prague Spring, an Old Newspaper Is Reborn

BY FREDERICK UNGEHEUER

**W**hen Czechoslovakia's Communist leader Milos Jakes was finally forced out of office last November, my friend Jiri Ruml was behind bars. "I had no idea what was happening, until I heard someone shout from a window of Ruzyně prison that Alexander Dubcek was going to speak at a rally on Wenceslas Square," says Ruml, who had been jailed six weeks earlier for "incitement to antistate activity." He recalls: "That shout was like a voice from heaven. I was out for a walk in the courtyard with a few other cell mates at the time. We hardly dared to believe what we had heard."

Ruml, editor of the newspaper *Lidove Noviny* (People's News), had more surprises in store for him. In a copy of the official Communist daily *Rude Pravo*, Ruml read next day that his son Jan was taking part in negotiations between Civic Forum, the new opposition group led by Vaclav Havel, and the Communist government over the Forum's demands for reform. The day after that revelation, Ruml was set free.

Within hours after leaving his cell, he was hauled up to a platform on Letna Plain, where Stalin's statue had once towered over the languid Vltava River and Prague's silent steeples. Suddenly, Ruml faced a cheering, flag-waving crowd making victory signs. "Imagine," he said, "to be cooped up in a 6-ft. by 3-ft. cubicle one night and the next to stand in front of half a million jubilant people." In the days that followed, Ruml did not get much sleep, buoyed by the



SHEPARD SHERBELL—SABA



**JIRI RUML IN PRAGUE: HIS PAPER GREW FROM 5,000 TO 600,000 COPIES IN A FEW HISTORIC WEEKS**



euphoria of sudden freedom and determined to win back for *Lidove Noviny* the prominence it had enjoyed for 60 years, until the Communists closed it in 1952.

I first met Ruml in 1968, the year I went to Prague for *Time*. He was then the political editor of *Reporter*, an irreverent magazine that thrived and died with the Prague Spring. After Soviet troops rolled into Czechoslovakia in August 1968, Ruml spent the next 21 years as a dissident, losing his job at *Reporter* and taking menial work on a construction gang. His wife Jirina Hrabkova, who was dismissed as the host of a popular radio show, sold sausages at the local zoo. When I saw the Rums again in 1970, they were angry that their two sons were barred from higher education. As the years wore on, the Rums continued their struggle. "The worst of it," Jiri once told me, "is that I see no

end to it. Our lives will have been wasted."

In 1986 Ruml and a handful of colleagues took the bold step of relaunching *Lidove Noviny* as a monthly. They wanted to pass on their skills to a younger generation before it was too late. They had no offices and no presses. Each issue was produced on four rickety typewriters. For safety reasons, the editors were kept in the dark as to who turned their typescripts into photocopies, which were passed from hand to hand. Though only about 5,000 copies were produced for each issue, the paper was an underground success. Prague's young demonstrators began carrying banners demanding *LIDOVE NOVINY* IN EVERY HOME.

The venture also brought together some of Czechoslovakia's future leaders. Havel was a member of the governing board. Jiri Dienstbier, now Foreign Minister, was chairman. When Havel was sentenced to nine months in prison last year, *Lidove Noviny* published a prophetic protest by playwright Arthur Miller. "His jailers are catching at smoke," Miller wrote, "throwing a net over a cloud. The world knows that the future is in Havel's cell and the past outside."

When Havel became Czechoslovakia's President on Dec. 29, *Lidove Noviny* greeted his inauguration with a pressrun of 600,000 copies in what was only the second legal issue since 1952. (The first had appeared the week before.)

Newsprint came from donors in Austria, Italy and France. The paper is informally owned by all who work for it and finances itself through newsstand sales, subscriptions and advertisements. A number of Western publishers have expressed interest in buying a share of *Lidove Noviny*, but Ruml and the board of governors have decided to keep it independent.

The paper accelerated from monthly publication to weekly, then twice weekly, while the editorial staff grew from seven people to 30. *Lidove Noviny* was scheduled to go daily in April. By then, Ruml expected to have enough work for 50 full-time reporters and editors at the paper's new offices on Wenceslas Square. The reborn *Lidove Noviny* is a rather modest affair: an eight-page tabloid that would grow to 24 pages on Wednesdays with a literary supplement, and twelve pages on weekends, after daily publication began.

Ruml knows now that the bitter years of longing for a better world were not wasted after all. But he is so busy that he looks back on his days in Ruzyně prison with mixed feelings. "At least there I slept," he says. **OPC**

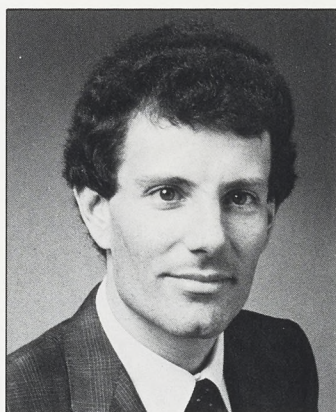


**UNGEHEUER JOINED TIME IN 1963 AND HAS REPORTED FOR THE MAGAZINE FROM EVERY CONTINENT EXCEPT ANTARCTICA.**



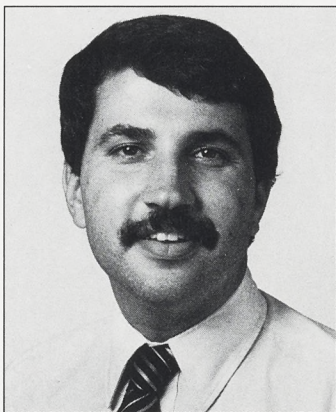
# The New York Times Company Salutes Our Prize-Winning Correspondents and All of the Overseas Press Club Award Winners.

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for the best book on  
foreign affairs



**JOEL MILLMAN, THE NEW  
YORK TIMES MAGAZINE**

The Hallie and Whit Burnett  
Award for the best general  
magazine article on  
foreign affairs



# My New Life

BY YURI SHCHEKOKHIKHIN

**I**t would have been hard for me to imagine a year ago that I would be sitting one day at a snack bar inside the Kremlin with two distinguished academicians and a famous Moscow theater director—complaining about having nothing to eat! That was what happened during a recent session of the Congress of the People's Deputies. During a break, we had hurried to the café to fortify ourselves for the long debates ahead, only to find there were just sandwiches, pastries and bouillon cubes available. Like hungry schoolchildren, we grabbed up salami on bread by the handful and paid out of our own pockets. One Deputy, who was a veteran of past Kremlin congresses, reflected on the way things used to be. "How they fed us!" he said, almost wistfully. "The tables groaned from all the food."

A good deal has changed in my country since *perestroika* began five years ago, including many of the privileges that used to be accorded to parliamentarians like me. No black Volga waits outside my door to whisk me off to the Kremlin each morning; I pay five kopecks, like any other Muscovite, to ride the Metro.

But there has been at least one major difference in my life since last October, when I stood for—and won—a parliamentary by-election in the Ukraine. The following month, couriers from the Kremlin began to appear daily at my office, delivering copies of draft laws and committee reports to be presented at the congress. As a longtime crime reporter, I was amazed to read detailed statistics on criminal activity in the Soviet Union that had not been available to me as a journalist.

By showing my Deputy's credential, I can now gain entry to government offices and state-run institutions that were once difficult for me to penetrate as a mere journalist. Recently, for example, I received an unexpected call from the moderator of a popular late-night television talk show. He asked if I would appear live that night to talk about the growing danger from Russian nationalists of the Pamyat (Memory) movement. The station's top brass had left for the day, and it was an unusual opportunity to raise this important issue on national televi-

sion. Had it not been for my Deputy's card, I would never have been allowed into the studio without going through red tape.

I also learned quickly that a legislator does not merely pass laws. I spent five days setting up an office in Voroshilovgrad, listening to the problems of more than 300 of my constituents. Most wanted old wrongs righted and complained about illegal arrests, court sentences or unjustified dismissals from work. Some needed help obtaining apartments or having telephones installed. Such petitions reflected a continuing distrust of our legal system and a

**"I can say that when I pressed the button on our new voting machines, I voted according to my conscience—as a journalist and a politician."**

traditional belief that only a good Czar—or a good Deputy—can straighten things out from on high. I urged people to set up citizens' action groups and do things for themselves, but many people, especially the older ones, simply looked at me with incomprehension.

For all my misgivings about my new role, I found the atmosphere in the huge Kremlin hall to be refreshingly open and

democratic. When I took the 43rd seat in the twelfth row, I felt as if I were in a big living room with people I knew, where I could simply go over and talk to marshals and government ministers. Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev was sitting in my row, just across the aisle. Once I came upon Yegor Ligachev, the noted conservative, standing in a group of Deputies. He was undoubtedly trying to persuade them that we could still find a way to feed our country with inefficient collective farms.

I had just received a telegram from the hero of one of my newspaper articles, a police captain of the economic-crimes squad in Odessa, who was having trouble with the local authorities. Normally, the best I could have offered him would have been the attention of the press. Now I had the unusual chance to appeal directly to someone higher up. I caught sight of new Deputy Politburo member Boris Pugo, the head of the party Control Commission, which examines questions concerning the conduct of party members, and decided to show him the message. He asked—to my surprise—what I thought needed to be done and promised to look into the case. It was the first time I had ever spoken to anyone on the Politburo. For me, its members had always been as distant as a passing column of black limousines.

I did not make a point of greeting President Mikhail Gorbachev, as many Deputies did, although I was impressed by how easily he mingled with people. But Gorbachev doesn't have the parliament in his pocket. The fact that he has to choose continually between conservative and radical views makes his life difficult, particularly since the conservatives are more numerous in our society. I often had the sense that when he criticized the liberal faction to which I belong, he was doing it more to reassure conservatives that all was in order.

Gorbachev understands the art of compromise. When the official report on the April 1989 upheaval in Georgia was presented at the December session, the Georgian delegation and its supporters, including me, walked out of the hall in protest. We were angry because the report failed to condemn the use of military force to put down a peaceful demonstration in Tbilisi in which 20 people died. Suddenly, Gorbachev called a break in the

GUNEYEV



**AN INVESTIGATIVE REPORTER FOR THE MOSCOW-BASED WEEKLY LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, SHCHEKOKHIKHIN WAS ELECTED LAST YEAR TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES.**





"A BIG ROOM WITH PEOPLE I KNEW"

# THE NEW PARLIAMENT IN SESSION: AN OPEN AND DEMOCRATIC ATMOSPHERE

session—half an hour early. Then he made his way to the Georgians gathered just outside the door to make peace. He opened the following session by putting forward an amendment to the commission report making clear that the military intervention in Tbilisi was in violation of the law. It was an important victory for the liberals.

**O**ur congress was summoned for an extraordinary session March 12 and 13 to decide whether to grant more powers to the President. I decided to vote against the proposal. We do need a new presidency, but I do not think it is a serious approach to prepare and approve such important changes to our constitution in only ten days' time, especially when we have done without such a President for 72 years. I knew I would be on the losing side even before the vote was taken, just as I was on most issues during the last session. The best thing I can say is that when I pressed the button on our new voting machines, I voted according to my conscience—as a journalist and a politician.

It troubles me that I have next to no time or energy anymore to work in the profession I love. In some ways, I almost feel as if I am in a position of knowing too much. It was easier for me to write and speculate about issues when I had less information to go on. There was a sense of challenge in hunting down facts that are now readily at my disposal. I also wonder how proper it is for me to mix journalism with politics and use the columns of the *Literary Gazette* to raise what we call "Deputy inquiries," which enable representatives to ask questions of any government institution. I believe, in principle, that journalists should not be involved in politics, but during this present transitional period, when our democratic institutions are still so new and weak, someone has to take on the burden of helping build a state governed by law.

I would advise my American colleagues never to run for a seat in the U.S. Congress. It really comes at a cost. Someone called me the other evening, for example, to ask for my help in obtaining a pardon for a man on death row who he claimed had been falsely convicted of murder. I promised to review the case, but it got me thinking. As a journalist I have dealt with many strange, even fateful things, but I have never been in a position where a person's life might hinge on my signature to a document. At such moments I wonder if it might not be better to remain an observer on the sidelines. A journalist, after all, is free in ways that a politician can never be. **OPC**

CHRIS NIEDERHAL



# Soviet TV Is Getting Outrageous; Film at Ten

BY JOHN KOHAN

**I**magine a television camera recording the sights and sounds of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 in Philadelphia. Catcalls can be heard from the South Carolina delegation each time a speaker from Massachusetts stands to debate the slavery issue. When octogenarian Benjamin Franklin offers yet another homely word of advice, there is a groan from a bored representative in the back row. In an unguarded moment, the camera catches George Washington fiddling with his wooden teeth.

Transpose the scene to modern Moscow and you have some sense of how Soviets feel these days watching their own history unfold on television. Cameras provided live coverage of the Congress of the People's Deputies' inaugural session in May 1989. With a few noteworthy exceptions, TV has continued to give Soviets an up-close and personal view of what President Mikhail Gorbachev has called his "school of democracy." The main difference now is that meetings of the new parliament are shown in delayed transmission. So many Soviets were tuning in the live proceedings that worker productivity dipped 20% during the first session.

The revolution in Soviet television was an event waiting to happen. Though only 5% of the population could watch TV in 1960, the number was approaching 90% by 1985, the year Gorbachev came to power. Vigorous and telegenic, he quickly recognized the potential of television in getting his message of radical reform out to the hinterlands, where even peasant huts that lack indoor plumbing sprout TV antennas.

Gorbachev's forays out of Fortress



WATCHING DEMOCRACY ON A MOSCOW SCREEN

## ROCK VIDEOS AND BLASPHEMOUS STUDIO GUESTS

Kremlin to engage his own people in street-corner debate—scrupulously recorded for the popular evening news show *Vremya* (Time)—amounted to the most forceful demonstration of his policy of *glasnost*. There was nothing to fear from speaking your mind in front of TV cameras, he seemed to be saying. That came as welcome news for many Soviets, and especially for broadcast journalists accustomed to rigid control by the State Committee for Television and Radio. The style of the new boss has been contagious, encouraging once timid newscasters to explore the limits of the permissible. Even average Soviets are voicing their complaints on the air with a gusto that must sometimes be unsettling to Gorbachev.

A viewer can search the two national channels of Central Television in vain for the Soviet equivalent of *Cosby* or *L.A. Law*. Who needs it? After years of bland, pre-packaged propaganda, Soviet audiences find blunt and open political

debate just as entertaining. Brash, offbeat shows like *Vzglyad* (View), a mix of *60 Minutes* and MTV, serve up biting rock satires of socialism as well as studio guests who think nothing of blasting the Bolshevik Revolution. Even the stodgy *Vremya* has replaced the tedious reports on potato harvests and Kremlin communiqués with a trim 30 minutes of information, anchored by real journalists instead of prim news readers.

A new crop of independent-minded news commentators has emerged. Eduard Sagalaye, mastermind of *Vzglyad* and the new editor of *Vremya*, exudes the confidence and trustworthiness of a Walter Cronkite. For a bit of the urbanity of Peter Jennings, try Vladimir Molchanov, whose monthly music-and-information broadcast, *Do i posle polunochi* (Before and After Midnight), is every bit as politically bold as *Vzglyad*, though less brazen. If you like Ted Koppel, you'll love Urmas Ott, an Estonian who confronts Soviet celebrities on *TV znakomstvo* (TV Acquaintance) with questions no one else would dare ask: How much money do you make? Have you ever been approached by the KGB?

Despite such new candor, Soviet TV journalism can still lapse into its old ways. In what amounted to an attempt at character assassination, programmers found a chunk of prime time to air footage of an apparently drunk Boris Yeltsin, Gorbachev rival, speaking at a public meeting during his 1989 U.S. visit. Central Television has also been less than fair in its reporting of events in the Baltic republics, using one-sided stories to stir up Russian fears that their compatriots in the region are being threatened by nationalist extremists. Meanwhile, other serious examples of ethnic strife have been largely ignored.

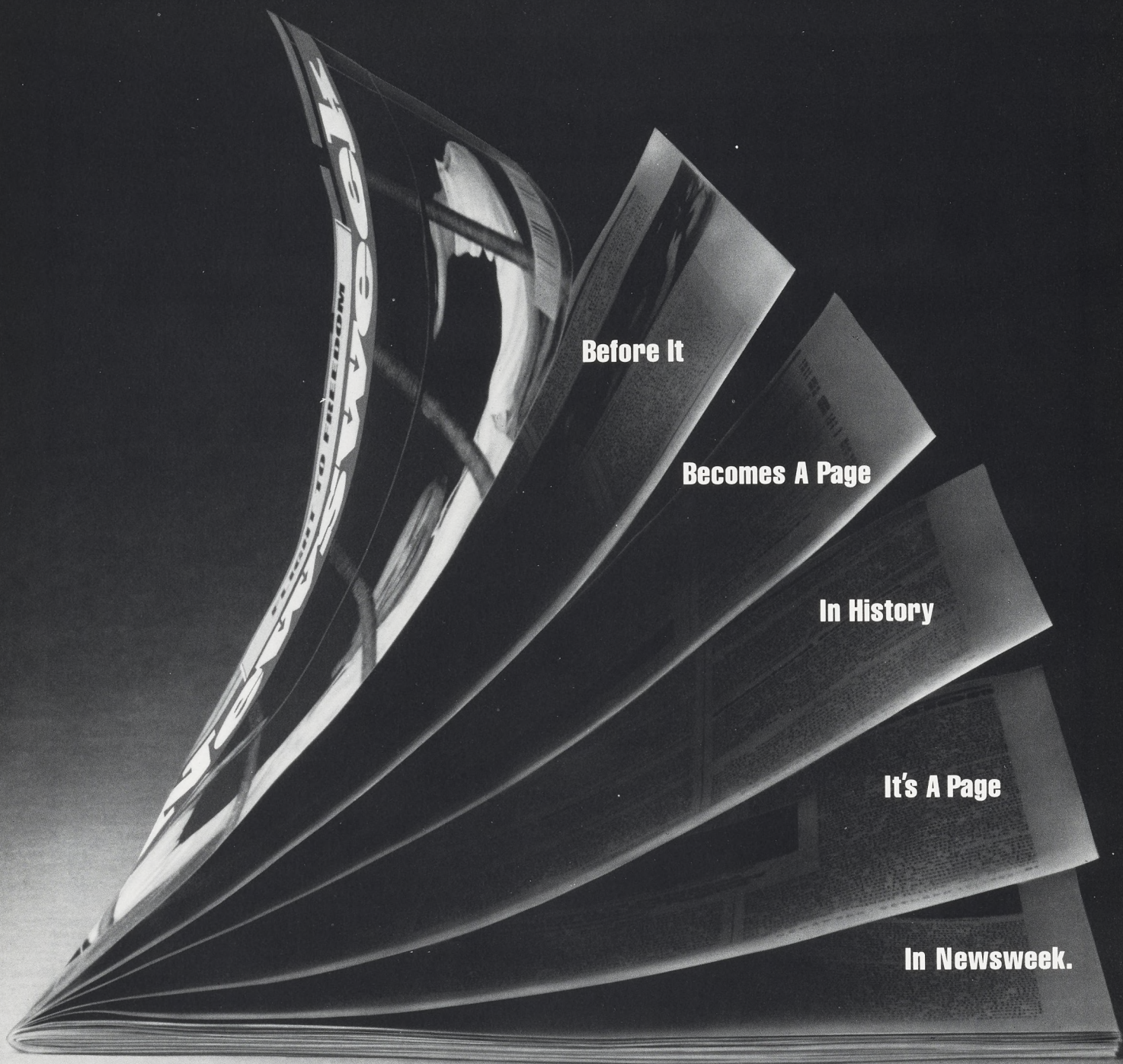
The answer, say many liberal Soviet intellectuals, is to create independent TV outlets that will be able to compete with the state system. A first step has been taken in that direction with the launch this year of a "commercial channel," using unoccupied airtime on the Moscow program to show rock videos, interspersed with advertisements for industrial products.

Whatever changes occur in Soviet television during the coming months, one development is almost certain. There will be even more of Gorbachev on the airwaves now that he has been elected to the new position of President. Once Gorbachev assumed that post, he lost no time in inviting a *Vremya* correspondent to his office for an "exclusive," informal interview, and he promised foreign correspondents that he would hold regular press conferences. Just like a President. **OPC**



KOHAN, TIME'S MOSCOW BUREAU CHIEF SINCE JUNE 1988, PREVIOUSLY SERVED AS A CORRESPONDENT IN BONN.





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**The Los Angeles Times is pleased and honored** to learn that the Washington Journalism Review's 6th Annual Readers' Poll has named The Times "the newspaper to watch for the '90s." We are proud to accept this valued tribute from our peers . . . and eager to meet the challenge for the future it represents.

**Los Angeles Times**



# Red-Faced: Confessions Of a Sovietologist



HERMAN KOKOJAN—BLACK STAR

**Revolutions are even less predictable after they have been launched than before**

BY MICHEL TATU

**T**his is a bad time for Sovietologists. We were supposed to be specialists in socialism. We now have to specialize in capitalism, more precisely in the "building of capitalism," an exercise as difficult as the famous "building of socialism" that never took place despite 70 years of strenuous efforts.

On top of that, some Sovietologists feel guilty for not having predicted the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, or the breakdown of the "monolithic system" in the Soviet Union. Let us just say that prediction is more an art than a science, that revolutions are even less predictable after they have been launched than before.

Nevertheless, some of us did draw attention to the fact that in a highly centralized system such as the Soviet one, any real change could come only from the top, and that the possibility of such change could not be excluded. After all, the most traditional Communist apparatuses have produced in the past such leaders as Khrushchev in the Soviet Union, Dubcek in Czechoslovakia, Nagy in Hungary. All of them introduced radi-

cal reforms and in some cases political revisionism. Occasionally the man is sleeping under the apparatchik, common sense is lurking behind the mask of ideology. So Gorbachev was not an isolated phenomenon: we had to expect that an enlightened apparatchik would appear sooner or later in the No. 1 position in Moscow, if only to correct the most obvious distortions of the period of stagnation that preceded him.

Another feature some of us pointed out is the extreme fragility of those supposedly monolithic and eternal systems. Here again, we had precedents: the Communist regime collapsed in three days of violent demonstrations in Hungary in 1956, in two months of peaceful transformations from the top in

Czechoslovakia in 1968. Thus what happened in those countries in the fall of 1989 should not have come as a total surprise.

There is one sin, however, to which most Sovietologists have to confess. We have not been sufficiently conscientious anticommunists. We have not said with the necessary frequency and conviction that the communist system was doomed, that it could not withstand the irresistible popular pressure that would inevitably follow the lifting of censorship and other constraints. Even at the beginning of *pere-stroika* in the Soviet Union, many of us did not expect such a rapid development of independent political parties. More of us underestimated the terrible pressure of nationalism. Despite the precedents of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, we were so accustomed to decades of Soviet propaganda about the "granite foundations" of the regime and the "unity of the Soviet people" that we thought decades would pass before the drama came. Now the present chaos remains something of a surprise for most observers.

Fortunately, familiar features from the past remain, at least in the Soviet Union: for most practical purposes, foreign journalists in Moscow still have to go through the press department of the Foreign Ministry and its administrative department—the famous UPDK—to arrange any internal trip. The KGB is still around, as well as the militiamen in front of the foreign diplomatic and journalistic ghettos. The system is besieged from all sides but is still there with some of its old figures: journalists have to leave Moscow to find him, but Leonid Zamyatin, their old foe as head of the press department, is still with the Foreign Ministry as Ambassador to the Court of St. James's; the clever Georgi Arbatov, director of Moscow's Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies, continues to explain the "new thinking" in foreign policy with the same zeal he defended the most dubious initiatives of the Brezhnev-Gromyko years. And those nostalgic for the old wooden language of official Soviet discourse can turn to the debates of the Central Committee, a preserve of the conservatives. Or just read *Pravda*: though he "retired" last year, the Stalinist journalist Yuri Zhukov still writes there in order to remain, at 82, "a soldier of the ideological front," as he puts it. Thanks to all of them for reminding us of the bad old days. **OPC**

PHILIPPE HURLIN



**AN EDITORIALIST FOR THE FRENCH DAILY LE MONDE, WHERE HE WAS FORMERLY MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT AND FOREIGN EDITOR, TATU IS AN INTERNATIONALLY RESPECTED COMMENTATOR ON SOVIET AFFAIRS.**



CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—BLACK STAR



ANDREW FRENCH



THE AUTHOR IN BERLIN

**"I compared the Berlin Wall to the more subtle and elusive walls I face as a young woman in America."**

## The Wall and the Op-Ed Page: A Reader's Tale

BY LUCINDA RECTOR

**L**ast fall I watched as the Berlin Wall came down, finding myself in awe of the young people of East and West Germany. I envied them as they kissed, drank champagne and danced on top of the obsolete barrier. Unlike members of my generation in East Germany, I have never had cause to celebrate my political freedoms publicly. I was born in a democratic society.

So I did what people in a democracy can do when they want to share their thoughts. I wrote them down and sent them off to my local newspaper, the *New York Times*. I had never done that before. I had always believed the press was reserved for people who are paid to be there: politicians, business leaders, news commentators. As a non-journalist just out of college, my own contribution to public issues had been studied indifference. I was frustrated that older generations accused people my age of self-absorption, but I didn't exert myself to change that stereotype. Like many others, I kept myself seen but remained unheard.

As political change began sweeping Eastern Europe, however, I couldn't help following the news with fascination. I also started to read various articles by young people in the *Times*'s "Voices of the New Generation" series, and to identify with them. Somewhat to my surprise, the *Times* on Dec. 1 published my essay, "Some Walls, Like Mine, Don't Fall," as part of

that series. In it, I compared the Berlin Wall with the more subtle and elusive walls I face as a young woman in America. I mentioned the walls surrounding career choices and the economic barriers blocking young people from affordable housing, child care and medical coverage in this country. I also noted that a "wall of politicians may well decide where I can or cannot receive an abortion."

I was not prepared for the reaction. I had heard about the power of the press but never experienced it firsthand. In the following weeks, my essay was the subject of talk shows, letters to the editor and newspaper columns. George Will asserted that I was a liberal "made morose by recent events." A professor, deriding my ignorance, sent me a copy of his American government class's midterm exam. Another professor, praising my wisdom, sent me a copy of *his* class's exam.

The cumulative effect was to demonstrate something I had always been told: voicing opinions is a two-way street. Expression and response are the stuff of free society. My silence had been the real "wall" to overcome.

One particular respondent took to heart my words that "I'd jump at the opportunity to go" to Berlin. Karl Issel, an East German-born construction engineer living in California, fled his country at the age of 18. He vowed that he would not return until freedom was imminent there. When Karl read my essay, he sent me a ticket to go with him to Berlin.

Ordinarily, Karl and I would not have been likely to meet. He is 59 and I am 26. Karl's youth was robbed from him by a world at war; my younger years are enriched by a world on the verge of unity and freedom. But because of the press, we shared a uniquely present-day adventure.

For ten days in February, Karl, a friend and I listened to the "Voices of the New Generation" in East Germany. We did not hear much about ideology. We did hear from a couple in Stassfurt who had decided to remain in East Germany but lamented, "Here you struggle and get nowhere." A 29-year-old Stassfurt dentist told us, "It's so very primitive here. They promise change, but my equipment has not been changed since 1975." We asked a young man at a Communist-sponsored disco in East Berlin about his future, and he pointed at a banner that was strung across the hall, advertising a Western cigarette brand: TEST THE WEST.

The journey confirmed my belief that people in their 20s, whether from East or West, have much in common. Born during the cold war, we have grown up confused, limited by wars we didn't fight and global barriers we had not created, supported or understood. We were not alive when Germany was split in two. We never heard John Kennedy declare himself "a Berliner" or Nikita Khrushchev promise to "bury" us. For us, there is no such thing as "reuniting." We are meeting for the first time. And we are excited.

While I will continue to encounter barriers preventing me from experiencing all of my freedoms, I am no longer trapped by my own silence. Through my Op-Ed piece, I realized that the press, and citizens contributing to it, can unite separated countries and generations. Freedom is about being seen and heard the whole world over. **OPC**



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television,  
satellites,  
computers,  
and  
fax machines...

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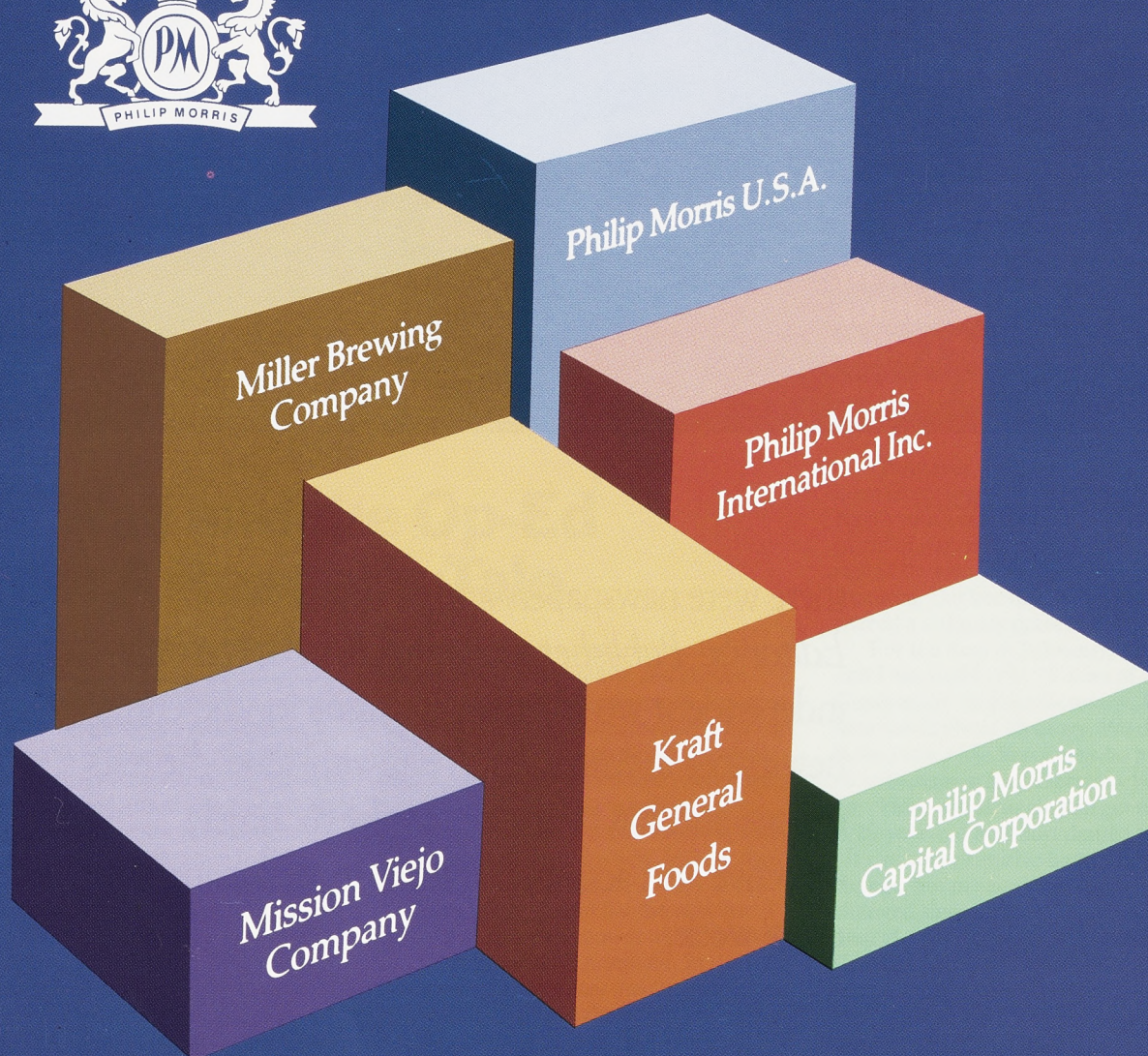
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# After the Massacre, China Persecutes Its Journalists

BY LIU BINYAN

**D**uring China's ten years of liberalization and reform, the institution that changed the least was the press.

Nonetheless, since last year's suppression of the democracy movement, the press has suffered the severest purge and repression. More journalists have been arrested and interrogated than writers, teachers and scholars. This is because, for one brief, glorious week last May, China's editors and reporters dropped their adherence to Communist control and enthusiastically took part in the democracy movement.

With admirable professionalism, these working journalists bravely reported to the nation and the world what actually happened during the final days of Beijing's student demonstrations. On the eve of the June 4 massacre by the military, for example, Wu Xiaoyung, director

of the English-language section of Beijing's International Broadcasting Station, risked his life by writing and broadcasting the news based on what he had personally witnessed. He appealed to his listeners worldwide to remember the military bloodbath on Changan Avenue that occurred in the late hours of June 3, and urged listeners to denounce the Chinese government for human rights abuses and repression. Wu was replaced and detained, according to reports in the Chinese press last year, but nothing more has been heard about him.

When such resistance to press censorship began to surface, Communist authorities were frightened. This is why unusually cruel and severe repressive measures have been taken against journalists. Compared with the 1966 Cultural Revolution, when only a few high officials at newspapers like the *People's Daily* were criticized, the current "purification movement" against the press is harsher and more thorough. Five of the six editors and deputy editors at the *People's Daily* have been purged.

More than half of the department chiefs have been dismissed and held responsible for their subordinates' prodemocracy actions. About 100 college graduates and postgraduates who are employees of the *People's Daily* and have been the most active in fighting for press freedom face the possibility of being dismissed and sent to rural re-education camps.

Since the 1950s, the goal of the best people in China's press has been to let the largest number of Chinese know what conditions are really like in the People's Republic. Now those journalists have lost what they worked so hard between 1979 and 1989 to achieve: the limited freedom of the press that had so frightened China's rulers. Newspapers have regressed to the condition that existed during the Cultural Revolution, when they were full of lies. Those reporters who want to keep a clear conscience have used silence as a way of protest.

China's present situation resembles that in Czechoslovakia after the August 1968 crackdown. Yet even the most pessimistic person cannot believe the Chinese people will have to suffer 20 dark years, as Czechoslovakians did, before completing their own revolution. There are new signs every day to indicate that the next peak of the democratic movement will come much earlier than expected. And when another democracy movement arrives, Chinese journalists will inevitably be its catalysts. **OPC**



LIU BINYAN, A FELLOW AT TRINITY COLLEGE IN HARTFORD, WAS EXPELLED FROM THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY IN 1987.



# BEING A TOP PHOTOJOURNALIST TAKES INSIGHT AND STAMINA.



© Anthony Suau/Black Star, 1990

## IT ALSO TAKES GUTS.



Inside a church in the Spanish village of El Rocio, pilgrims struggle in a centuries-old rite to touch the statue of the Virgin of the Dew.

Anthony Suau captured this image on Kodak T-Max P3200 professional film with an exposure of 1/250 sec at  $f/5.6$ .

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# Of Sausages and Bicycles: Publishing in the East Bloc

BY NAUSHAD S. MEHTA

**S**ome people will go to any lengths to start a magazine. Take Robert Rodale, for example. The chairman of Rodale Press in Emmaus, Pa., is setting up a sausage and salami factory outside Moscow in order to publish a bimonthly farming magazine in the Soviet Union called the *New Farmer*.

What's the link, you might ask? The money earned from the sale of pork products (half in rubles, half in hard currency) will pay for the magazine's paper and printing costs. "If we have to produce better food in order to start a magazine," says Rodale, "well, that's great."

With energy, creativity and good old Yankee ingenuity, a growing number of pioneer publishers like Rodale are streaming through the no-longer Iron Curtain to bring their brand of Western journalism to the East. The logistics are often daunting, but for many publishers facing stagnant markets at home, the opportunity is irresistible. "This is a tremendously exciting situation," says Patrick McGovern, chairman of International Data Group, the world's largest publisher of computer magazines. "You find all the doors opening."

McGovern certainly did. IDG launched the first issue of *PC World USSR* two years ago, and all 50,000 copies were snapped up in less than twelve hours. Today IDG has five computer magazines in Hungary and three in the Soviet Union and is set to launch PC publications in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Other U.S. publishers are on the same fast track. In one typical deal, publisher Bob Guccione is adding a few Russian-language pages to his science monthly, *Omni*, and sending 20,000 copies to the Soviet Union. In exchange, Guccione is taking 20,000 copies of the English-language version of a Soviet bimonthly, *Science in the USSR*, which he will sell in the U.S. In Hungary, Guccione's major U.S. rival, *Playboy*, is unwrapping its special brand of cheer in a joint venture with a local publisher. *Penthouse* will follow suit shortly.

Last December the Los Ange-



les *Times* began publishing *News Fax*, a four-to-six page digest of the newspaper's stories, which is transmitted to Moscow via high-resolution phone lines. *USA Today* is available in Budapest, Leningrad and Moscow, and will soon appear in Warsaw. Earlier this year McGraw-Hill concluded deals to produce *Business Week* in Hungary and the Soviet Union. The *Reader's Digest*, which already publishes in 15 languages, is exploring a Russian-language edition and is looking to move into East Germany.



lines, paper to print on?"

The answer: it's not easy. The major problem is local currency, which in most East bloc countries is not convertible into dollars and thus cannot easily be brought home to the U.S. as profits. That has led some Western publishers into complex barter arrangements involving sausages and copies of East bloc publications. In addition, high-quality paper and modern printing equipment are scarce in some Eastern countries. To ensure a steady supply of suitable paper in the Soviet Union, *Business Week* will ship in its own coated stock. When IDG's Soviet operation ran

out of paper last year, copies of the magazine were printed in West Germany and flown back to Moscow. Boston-based Kompass Intercontinental's joint-venture magazine, *Music International* (for classical music buffs), is printed in York, England, and shipped to the Soviet Union.

"There has been such a lack of information for so many years," says Sam Chase, editor of *Music International*, "people there are hungry for information."

As are people here. To keep up with the East European revolution, U.S. news organizations have added to their bureaus and coverage in the region. NBC News, for example, opened an office in Budapest last year. ABC News set up a bureau in Berlin in March. The major American dailies and newsmagazines have rushed reinforcements into Eastern Europe from their offices in Paris, Rome, Bonn, Jerusalem, London and the U.S. The New York *Times*, the Los Angeles *Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek* have already added Berlin correspondents to their East European contingent, and the big Los Angeles daily has established a new bureau in Budapest.

Multinational companies from just about everywhere are following suit. Their advertising dollars are already helping keep U.S. magazines afloat in the East bloc. Even firms that do not sell products in Eastern Europe are placing ads in an attempt to build brand identity for the future. When East bloc enterprises are involved, the ad revenue sometimes comes in strange forms. Frunze, a Soviet bicycle manufacturer, could not scratch up \$9,000 in U.S. currency to pay for a full-page ad in Kompass's *Moscow International Business*. In lieu of greenbacks, Kompass accepted a shipment of 93 bicycles for its Boston office. Kompass plans to sell the bikes (suggested retail price: \$200 each) and pocket the proceeds.

Despite any teething problems they face, U.S. publishers insist it is vital to join the East bloc publishing business in its infancy. "These countries are opening up very quickly," says IDG's McGovern. "It is important to show up early." Robert Rodale, for one, definitely intends to bring home the publishing bacon. **OPC**



JAMES KEYSER



**A REPORTER IN TIME'S NEW YORK BUREAU, MEHTA SPECIALIZES IN COVERING THE PRESS.**



# Overseas Press Club Awards

Datelines seldom seen in the Western world for almost a half-century blossomed almost overnight: Budapest. Bucharest. Prague. And there were more familiar capitals in crisis: Beijing. Bogotá. Beirut. Panama City. And there was hunger and despair from Mali to Peru to India, and the shocking abuse of human beings in areas such as Honduras and Mexico.

All these datelines were reflected in stories and photographs submitted by men and women correspondents and photographers around the world for judging by their peers in the 1989 competition of the Overseas Press Club of America. More than 400 entries were reviewed in 16 categories. Nearly 50 judges participated. They spent hundreds of hours on the assignment, which produced the winners and special citations for outstanding work.

The dismantling of the Berlin Wall and the democratic tide that washed over Eastern Europe came with sudden swiftness. So did the dramatic face-off of students and the military in Tiananmen Square. The judges were impressed by the rapid mobilization of resources by U.S. news organizations and the high caliber of work that resulted.

These awards pay tribute once again to the journalists who toil in distant places, often overshadowed by other big stories and hampered and harassed by unfriendly governments. The Overseas Press Club is proud of its role in recognizing their accomplishments.

**H.L. Stevenson**  
**OPC Awards Chairman**

## 1990 JUDGES

### CLASS 1 AND 2

Allan Dodds Frank, Chairman  
Jerry Flint  
Pamela Hollie Kluge

### CLASS 3 AND 4

Hal Buell, Chairman  
Randy Cox  
Jim Dooley  
Michael Evans

### CLASS 5 AND 6

David Anderson, Chairman  
William Conlan  
William Kratch  
Fritz Littlejohn  
Gene Sosin

### CLASS 7 AND 8

David Shefrin, Chairman  
Whitman Bassow  
Arthur Unger

### CLASS 9 AND 10

Alfred Balk, Chairman  
R. Edward Jackson  
John Polich  
Norman Schorr

### CLASS 11

John Prescott, Chairman  
James Donna  
William McBride  
Michael Pakenham

### CLASS 12 (A and B)

Mel Beiser, Chairman  
Roslyn Bernstein  
George Bookman  
C. Peter Gall

### CLASS 13

Ralph Gardner, Chairman  
Jean Baer  
Rosalie Brody Feder  
Rob Roy Buckingham  
Ralph Gardner, Jr.  
Grace Shaw

### CLASS 14

Julia Edwards, Chairman  
Herbert Kupferberg  
Blythe Foote Finke

### CLASS 15

H. Lee Silberman  
Donald Shanor  
Leonard Sussman

### CLASS 16

William Holstein, Chairman  
William Hyland  
John MacArthur



### CLASS 1 WINNERS

The Hal Boyle Award, best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad.

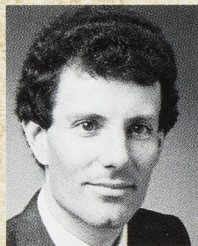
Honorarium: \$1,000 from AT&T.

## Nicholas Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn

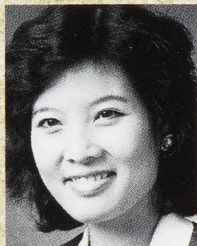
of the New York Times and

## Mort Rosenblum

of the Associated Press.



Kristof



WuDunn



Rosenblum

While many newspapers produced outstanding coverage of the tumultuous events in China during 1989, the husband-and-wife team of Kristof and WuDunn managed to convey both the highly visible events in Tiananmen Square and the invisible manipulations of the Chinese leadership. Particularly impressive was their use of anecdotes to convey the feelings of ordinary Chinese in telling the story of the upheaval. "In 1949 we welcomed the Army into Beijing," said one old man. "Now we're fighting to keep them out."

Rosenblum covered the frantic last days of Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu. Over eight fateful days, this veteran reporter provided constant and extensive coverage of the downfall of the despot, the flood tide of jubilation among ordinary citizens, and the first Christmas celebration in years in Bucharest and throughout the nation.

### CLASS 2 WINNER

The Bob Considine Award, best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs.  
Honorarium: \$1,000 from King Features Syndicate.

## Jackson Diehl

of the Washington Post.



Diehl

With stunning speed, the political shape of Europe changed during 1989, and correspondent Diehl's 3 1/2-year assignment on the Continent enabled him to stay, as one judge put it, "way ahead of the curve." He was able to predict the increasing fervor of the demonstrations in Eastern Europe and the prospects for a reunited Germany.

His series "Dismantling Communism"

provided exceptional insight into the demise of the Communist-style regimes and subsequent democratic reforms.

**CITATION:** Claudia Rosett of the *Wall Street Journal*, for her incisive and uncompromising look at the events in China.

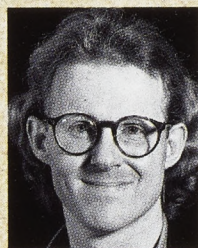
### CLASS 3 WINNER

The Robert Capa Gold Medal for best photographic reporting or interpretation from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise.

Honorarium: \$1,000 from LIFE.

## David Turnley

of the Detroit *Free Press* and Black Star for "Revolutions in China and Romania."



D. Turnley

David Turnley was attacked in Tiananmen Square, and his camera was destroyed beneath the feet of soldiers; using borrowed equipment he was able to file pictures daily from Beijing. In Romania he was one of the first photographers to enter the country after the ousting of President Ceausescu. His pictures captured soldiers and civilians as purveyors, victims and, finally, spectators to the brutal revolution.

**CITATIONS:** Jeff Widener of the Associated Press, for his pictures from the Beijing uprising.

Christopher Morris of Black Star and *TIME* for coverage of the U.S. invasion of Panama.

### CLASS 4A WINNER

The Olivier Rebbot Award for best photographic reporting from abroad for magazines and books.  
Honorarium: \$1,000 from Newsweek magazine.

## Peter Turnley

of Newsweek for

"Ceausescu, The Fall of a Dictator."



P. Turnley

Peter Turnley, twin brother of David Turnley, masterfully covered the revolution in the streets of Bucharest; the judges were also influenced by the scope of his coverage in 1989 in Beijing, East Germany and Czechoslovakia, as well as by his photographs of Armenia one year after the earthquake.

**CITATIONS:** William Frank Gentile, for his picture book, *Nicaragua*, about war and everyday life in that country.

James Nachtwey of *LIFE*, for his picture story, "Death Zone," about famine in Ethiopia.



**PORTFOLIO:**  
**CLASS 3**  
**WINNER**  
**David Turnley**

A mother learns of the death of her son, a university student in Beijing; wounded students are carried away as soldiers fire into the crowd. By early morning on June 4, the army had made its way into Tiananmen Square; a Romanian man weeps at a funeral two days after the overthrow of dictator Ceausescu.

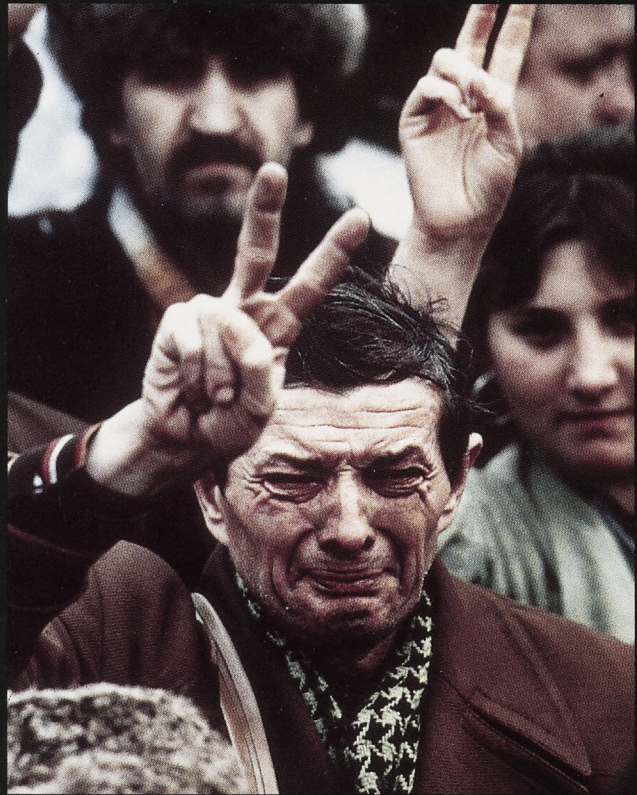


**PORTFOLIO:**  
**CLASS 4A**  
**WINNER**  
**Peter Turnley**

In a Bucharest hospital, one of the members of Ceausescu's secret police, the Securitate, lies dead, covered by a sheet; the army, faithful for years to the Romanian dictator, turns its guns against him.











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**PORTFOLIO:**  
**CLASS 4B WINNER**  
**Anonymous**

Hysterical mourners try to touch the body of Iran's leader, the Ayatullah Khomeini, as his coffin is passed overhead during the funeral in Tehran.

**CLASS 4B WINNER**

Best photographic reporting from abroad for newspaper and wire services.  
 Honorarium: \$1,000 from Eastman Kodak Professional Products Division.

**Anonymous**

"Final Journey,"  
 distributed by the Associated Press.

This single photo gave the world a ringside seat to the funeral cortege of the Ayatullah Khomeini in Tehran as it was engulfed by a mob of ardent followers. The photo was taken as the ruler's body tumbled from the open casket. The photographer must remain anonymous to avoid possible reprisals from the followers of the dead leader.

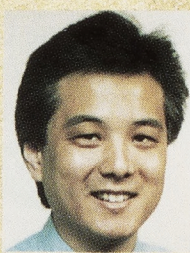
**CITATION:** Ron Jacques Haviv, of Agence France-Presse for his photo of a bloodied Panamanian politician under attack by Panamanian thugs during a political march.

**CLASS 5 WINNER**

The Ben Grauer Award for the best radio spot-news reporting from abroad.

**Gary Matsumoto**

of NBC Radio, for his coverage of developments in Eastern Europe.



Matsumoto

Matsumoto reported on the toppling of the Communist Party in East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Romania. In one on-the-scene spot, he came under sniper fire at a Romanian army check-point in Bucharest. He crawled beneath an armored personnel carrier after seeing the officer with whom he had just spoken take a bullet in the head.

**CITATION:** Steve Futterman, of NBC/Mutual Radio, for "China 1989."



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*"We must be measured by deeds, not by words."*

Robert D. Kennedy



## CLASS 6 WINNER

The Lowell Thomas Award, best radio interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs.

Honorarium: \$1,000 from Capital Cities/ABC Inc.

## CBS Radio News

for "Europe 1989: The Legacy of World War II."



This exceptionally high-quality 15-part series on conditions in Eastern Europe and the

growing campaign for democracy aired in the summer of 1989—a preview of events to come a few months later. National leaders, historians and ordinary citizens talked about the occupation of their countries by the Nazis, the German defeat, and the subsequent formation of the Soviet bloc. Written and produced by Pam Rauscher. Dan Rather was the anchor.

**CITATION:** Duc Nguyen and Peter Breslow, of National Public Radio, for "Return to Vietnam: Homecoming and Voices from the Ho Chi Minh Trail."

## CLASS 7 WINNERS

Best television spot news reporting from abroad.

Honorarium: \$1,000

## Dan Rather

of CBS News, for his on-the-scene coverage from China, and

## Cable News Network and anchor Bernard Shaw



Rather



Shaw

Network TV reporters did a superb job of covering the democratic uprising in China and none with more skill and compassion than Dan Rather. His reporting from Tiananmen Square and elsewhere in Beijing was balanced, encompassing both hard coverage and interpretation.

CNN has built its reputation on sustained, 24-hour news coverage, and the China story gave the network new and well-deserved eminence. Bernard Shaw led this remarkable news team, which put CNN's viewers around the world directly in touch with the events of the day.

## CLASS 8 WINNER

The Edward R. Murrow Award, best television interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs.

Honorarium: \$1,000 from CBS.

## Ted Koppel

of ABC News.



Koppel

For the second consecutive year, Ted Koppel of ABC News was singled out, this time for "Tragedy at Tiananmen—The Untold Story." This program was produced and aired within a few weeks of the end of the student uprising, covering not only the drama but the far-reaching implications for China and the world.

**CITATION:** ABC News's "Prime Time Live," for a series on the Peruvian drug trade and the "Secrets of the Secret Police" in Czechoslovakia.

## CLASS 9 WINNER

The Ed Cunningham Memorial Award for the best magazine reporting from abroad.

Honorarium: \$500 from the OPC Foundation.

## Fred C. Shapiro

of the *New Yorker*, for "Letters from Beijing."



Shapiro

In his lengthy, richly detailed "letters," Shapiro conveyed the passion, glory and tragedy of the brutal repression of the Chinese student demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. He skillfully blended personal experiences and public events to convey this great drama.

**CITATION:** John Kohan, Moscow bureau chief, and a team of reporters and photographers from *TIME*, for "The New USSR," a single-topic issue of the magazine exploring how Mikhail Gorbachev has transformed the Soviet Union.



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**CLASS 10 WINNER**

The Hallie and Whit Burnett Award for the best general magazine article on foreign affairs.  
 Honorarium: \$500.

**Joel Millman**

of the New York *Times Magazine*, for  
 "El Salvador's Army: A Force unto Itself."



Millman

After a year of interviews, marching on patrol and combing financial statements, Millman exposed the pervasive corruption in the Salvadoran army. His article sparked new lines of official inquiry into a civil war that has drawn \$1 billion in U.S. military aid in the past decade.

**CITATIONS:** Henry Trehwitt, Jeff Trimble and Robin Knight, of U.S.

*News & World Report*, for "Soviet Military Power." Jeff Trimble, Roger Rosenblatt, Douglas Stanglin and Dusko Doder, of U.S. *News & World Report*, for "Revolution and Ruin."

**CLASS 11 WINNER**

Best cartoons on foreign affairs.  
 Honorarium: \$500 from the New York *Daily News*.

**Mike Luckovich**

of the Atlanta *Constitution*.



Luckovich

Luckovich's work combines directness with an expert execution that hits home with emotions ranging from deeply moving, to ironic, to hilarious. He won from among 50 entrants in a year of remarkably fine work.

**CITATION:** Dana Summers, of the Orlando *Sentinel*.

**CLASS 12A WINNER**

Best business and/or economic news reporting from abroad for magazines.  
 Honorarium: \$1,000 from the estate of Morton Frank.

**Saul Hansell**

of *Institutional Investor*.



Hansell

After 120 interviews and visits to six countries over three months, Hansell wrote that the future of stock and bond trading lies with the computerized exchanges being developed, or already in operation, around the world. Hansell's "Wild, Wired World of Electronic Exchanges" analyzed the implications of this trend that will radically alter face-to-face trading.

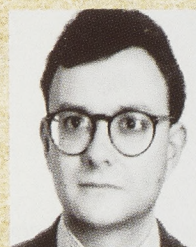
**CITATION:** Robert C. Neff, Paul Magnusson, William J. Holstein, Robert J. Dowling, and Mark Vamos of *Business Week*, for "Rethinking Japan."

**CLASS 12B WINNER**

Best business and/or economic reporting from abroad for newspapers and/or wire services.  
 Honorarium: \$1,000 from *Forbes* magazine.

**Peter Gumbel**

of the *Wall Street Journal*.



Gumbel

Moscow bureau chief Gumbel explored the nitty-gritty of the daily life of ordinary Soviet citizens to illustrate the paradox of Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *perestroika*: that well-intentioned economic reforms have made life worse, not better. In this two-part series, Gumbel also painted the sad picture of an industrial town in the Ukraine once selected by Lenin to be the site of a workers' "paradise," now reduced by inefficient management and resistance to reform to an economic and ecological disaster area.

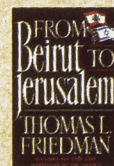
**CITATION:** Ruth Youngblood, of United Press International, for Southeast Asia reporting.

**CLASS 13 WINNER**

The Cornelius Ryan Award for the best book on foreign affairs.  
 Honorarium: \$1,000 from the Anita Diamant Literary Agency.

**Thomas Friedman**

*From Beirut to Jerusalem*, published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux.



A longtime correspondent for the New York *Times*, now reporting from Washington, Friedman relied on his extensive knowledge and coverage of the Middle East to produce this extraordinary book.

**CLASS 14 WINNER**

The Madeline Dane Ross Award for the foreign correspondent in any medium showing a concern for the human condition.  
 Honorarium: \$1,000 from the Madeline Dane Ross Fund.

**Jeremy Iggers**

of the *StarTribune*, Minneapolis-St. Paul, for "Feeding a Hungry Planet."



Iggers

Iggers' series of articles explored the causes of hunger from Honduras and Peru to Mali and India. He found that most of the hungry were victims not of war, natural disasters or a lack of resources but of such human-caused factors as mismanagement of the land, social inequality and the unequal distribution of land resources.

**CITATION:** Michael Hiltzik, of the Los Angeles *Times*, for articles on East Africa.



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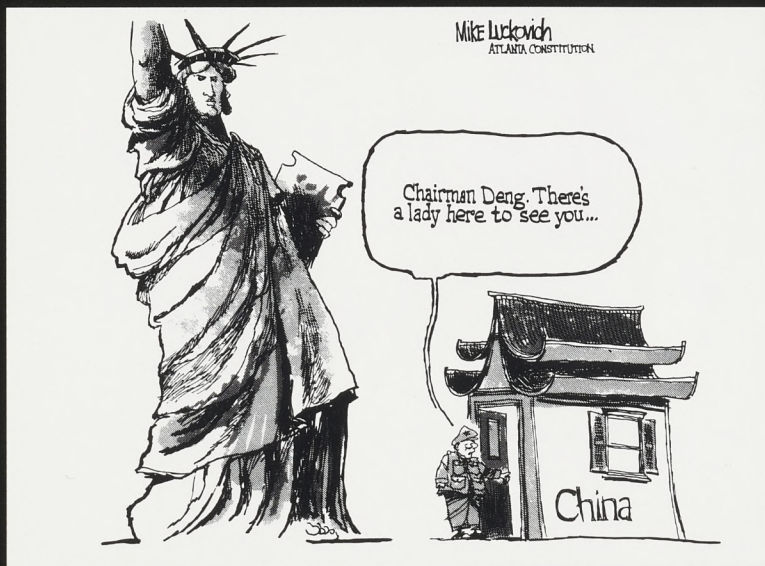


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### CLASS 15 WINNER

The Eric and Amy Burger Award for the best entry dealing with human rights.

Honorarium: \$1,000 from the Burger estate.

### Katherine Ellison

of the San Jose *Mercury News*,  
for reporting on human-rights abuses  
in Nicaragua and Mexico.



Ellison

Ellison's collection of stories ranges from a piece on a Mexico City physician who performed illegal abortions at his clinic to the kidnaping and sexual exploitation of Nicaraguan women by the *contras*.

### CLASS 16 WINNER

Best reporting or interpretation in print by a foreign correspondent in the United States, for publication outside the U.S.

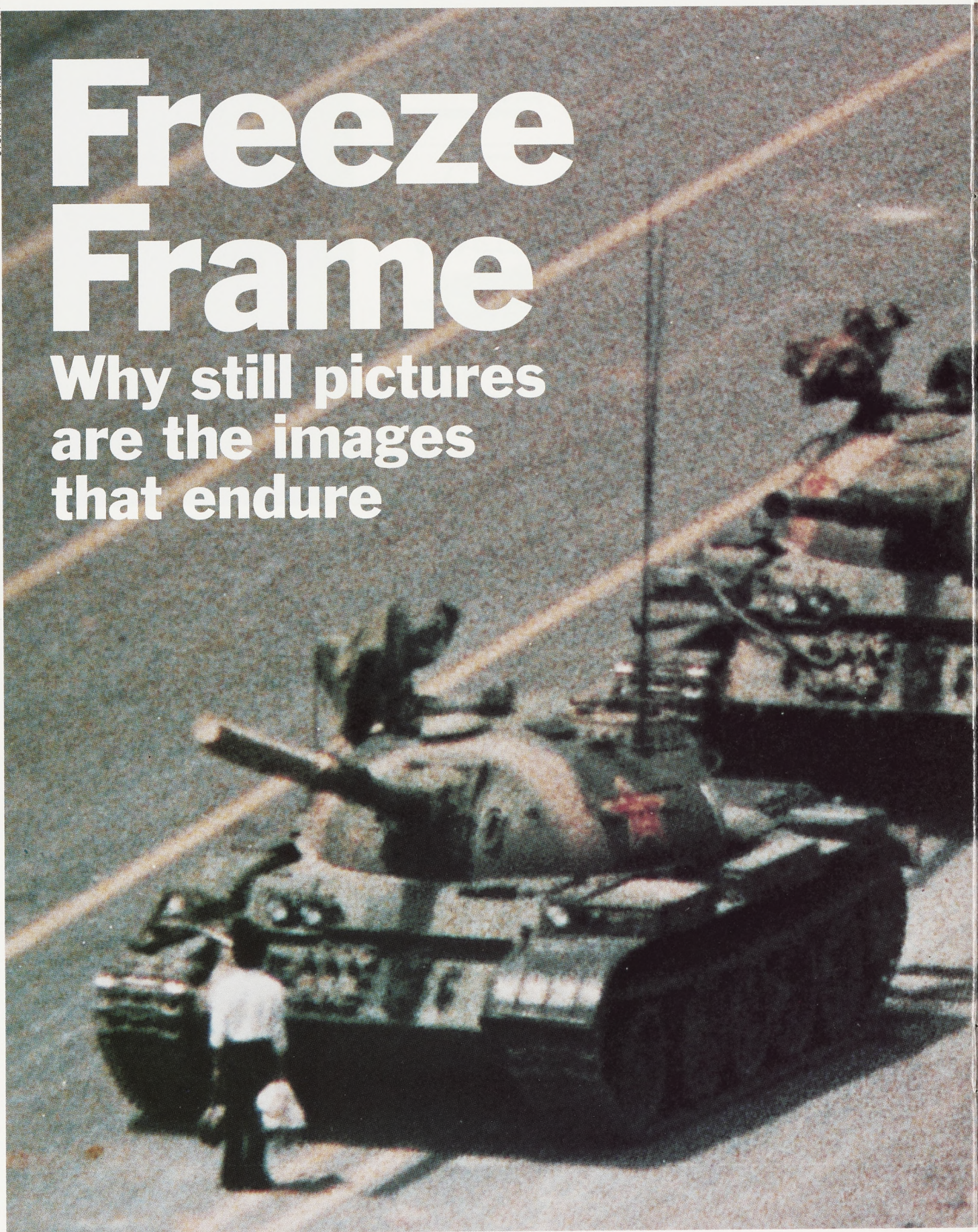
Honorarium: \$1,000 from Bayer USA, U.S. Management Holding Company for Bayer AG, of West Germany.

No award presented for 1989.



# Freeze Frame

Why still pictures are the images that endure







BY DAVID BURNETT

**F**or the photographers who make the pictures you see every day in newspapers and magazines, this has been a challenging year. In Eastern Europe, Central America, Asia and South Africa, the world changed in ways that no expert could have imagined. Those of us who followed these changes through the viewfinder of a camera were perhaps a little more careful, a little more deliberate, each time we took a spent roll from the camera and stuffed it into a pocket. The mundane tasks of our trade—taping film packets shut, editing fresh negatives, confirming that film had safely arrived in New York City or Paris—all took on a bit more intensity. They became even more important when the images on those films were impressions of the events of the past year.

It was one of those years that reminded us why we are photo-journalists. As the designated eyes of the rest of the world, we could feel once more the excitement of bearing witness to great events.

Watching the crowds at the Berlin Wall on those frosty November nights, we felt an obligation not merely to our editors but also to history and the world at large to make photographs that would transcend the cliché. Often the requirements of the working moment overshadowed whatever thoughts we might have of ourselves as wandering historians. Worming through a jubilant throng of thousands while keeping a camera bag on the shoulder, warming equipment under heavy coats to keep cameras working in bone-chilling cold and generally

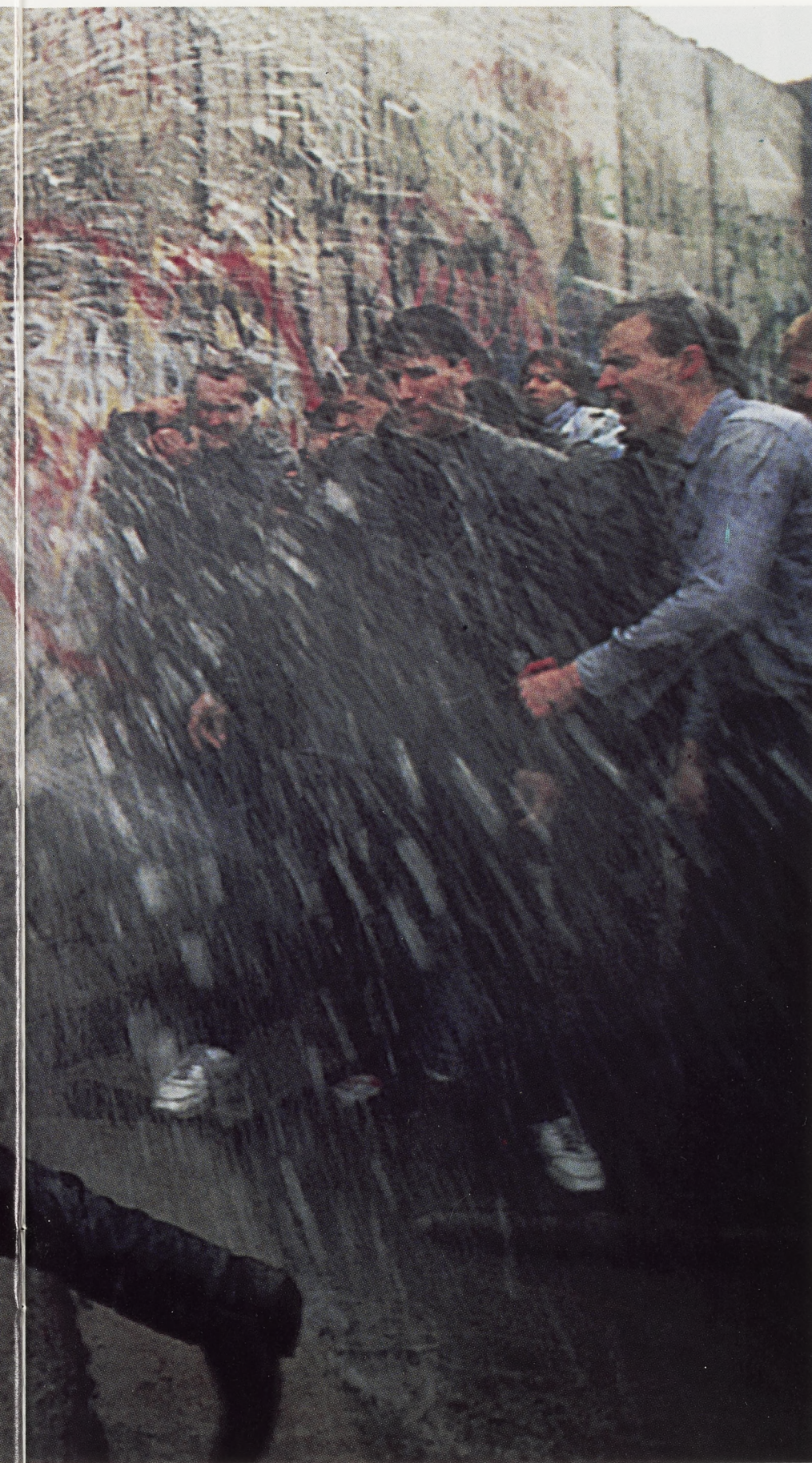
HISTORIC GESTURE: STUART  
FRANKLIN'S PHOTO OF THE  
COURAGEOUS BEIJING PROTESTER



ANTHONY SUAL—BLACK STAR







trying to remain level-headed when all those around us were celebrating in an emotional frenzy—we had other things to think about besides history.

It was a good year too for television, that instant beacon of information. We saw the Berlin Wall breached “live.” We saw videotaped images of Panamanian thugs attacking a vice-presidential candidate and of a young Chinese man facing down a tank. But how do we recall them now, just a few months later? We remember them as still images: the Chinese student frozen in defiance in front of the tank; the Panamanian candidate standing still and bloody in front of his stick-wielding assailant. And from Berlin, beyond the cheering televised faces from the Wall, we remember Tony Suau’s picture of the young West Berliners, picks in hand, braving the East German water cannon. Television brings a superabundance of images, each of which carries its own aural and visual adjectives. Yet somehow TV lacks the emotional punch of a still photo. Says *Time* photographer Chris Niedenthal, who covered the fall of five regimes in Eastern Europe in almost as many weeks: “Perhaps because of its speed, TV develops the striking image in the viewer’s eye. But a good magazine photograph fixes it in the memory.”

Cotton Coulson, associate photography director for *U.S. News & World Report*, spent more than a decade traveling the world as a photographer for *National Geographic* before becoming an editor. “TV doesn’t capture the essence of the moment the way a still does,” he says. “The still picture may tend to romanticize, but that makes for communication with the viewer. It leaves a visual imprint. When people think of an event, they think of a photo, not a 20-second TV spot.”

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TONY SUAUI’S IMAGE OF WEST  
BERLINERS AT THE WALL, DEFYING  
EAST GERMAN WATER CANNON





BRAVING REPRESSIVE REGIMES: PANAMANIAN CANDIDATE GUILLERMO FORD UNDER ATTACK, AS CAPTURED BY RON HAVIV

The evening East Berlin officials first opened a stretch of the Wall, photographers in both Germanys were scrambling. By about 11 p.m., the word had got around: Behrenstrasse. Parking the car as close as the Vopo would allow, several of us hiked the last few hundred yards to the Wall. The glow of workmen's lights and the sound of generators had broken the frigid calm. Crowds were tentatively gathered at the edge of the Wall where two breaks were being made, each about 10 ft. wide. Bathed in floodlights, soldiers were sawing through the concrete and cinder block as if it were a tranche of Monterey Jack cheese. So this was it. This is how history changes.

Giddy East Berliners, emboldened by the day's events, jokingly chipped away at the bits of concrete and stone. A gruff East German sergeant told them once, then

twice, to desist. A man with a chisel persisted, almost clownlike, with exaggerated motions, knocking small chips from the Wall. Finally, after being harangued by the rest of the good-natured crowd, the sergeant smiled, relented and hugged the aspiring stonecutter. The crowd responded warmly.

The pictures taken then will one day form the shared visual heritage of a generation. Yet the photographers who took them were more concerned with making pictures

than with making history. Or, more precisely, they did not see any difference between the two tasks. The urge to find the most immediate, symbolic picture creates that little pit in the stomach that keeps photographers striving and hungry. You look at the scene, surveying the subject and the setting. Your mind "sees" the picture, and you try to figure out where you need to be to take it, and how to get there. As you walk through the crowd, uttering "*Entschuldigen, bitte*" and "Pardon," you start

to see the elements of the picture come into view. Reflexively you reach for the correct lens, the correct camera. You bring the viewfinder to your eye. Almost right. Then it all comes together. The lights, the crowd, the speaker. For that moment you hear only the snap of the shutter. Another piece of history. **OPC**

Annie Leibovitz-Contact



DAVID BURNETT, A FOUNDING MEMBER OF CONTACT PHOTO AGENCY, IS A FREQUENT CONTRIBUTOR TO TIME. IN 1985 HE WON THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD.



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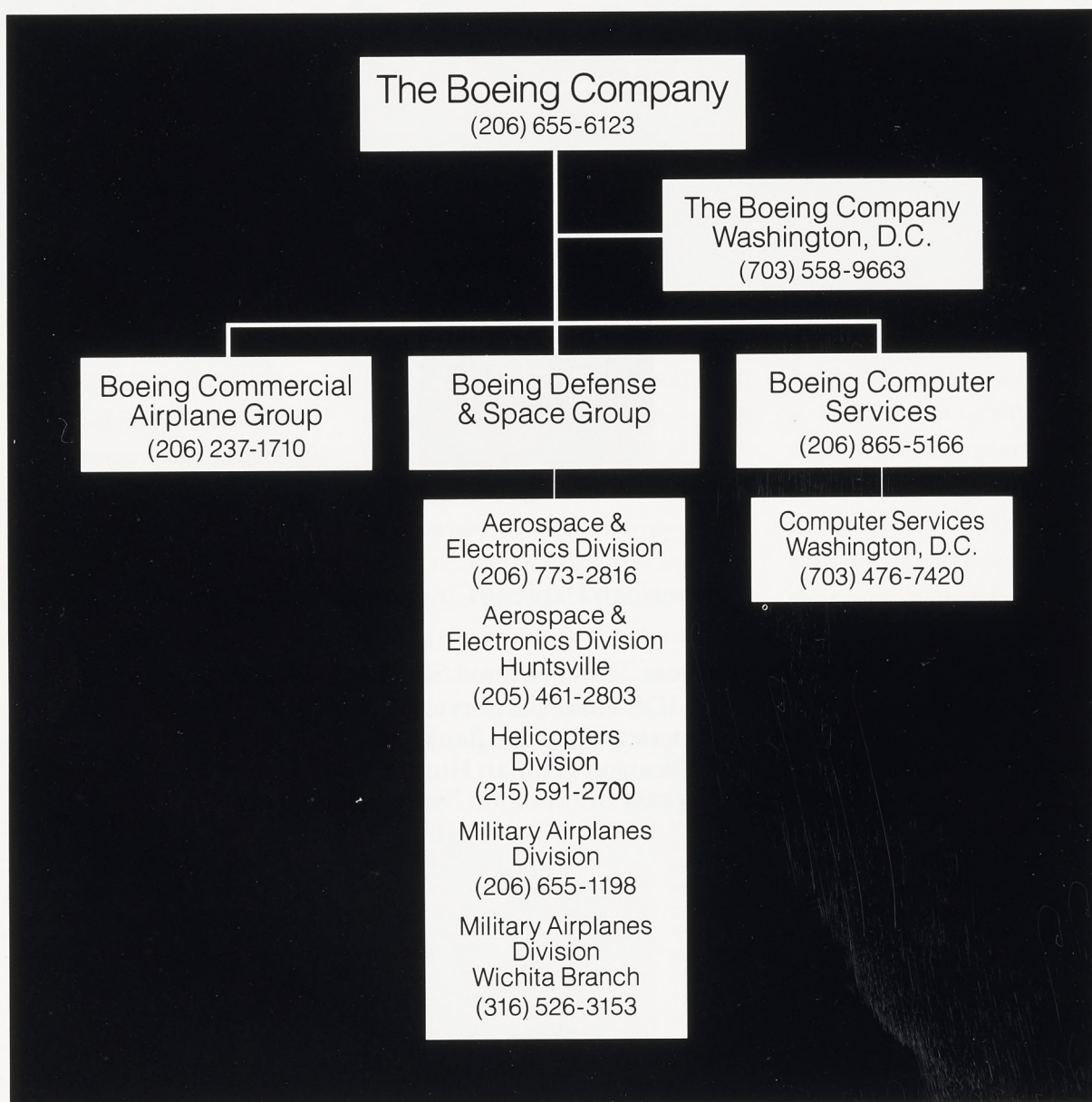


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# The Television Screen Is Mightier than the Sword

BY WILLIAM A. HENRY III

**A**fter years of global fretfulness about the brute effectiveness of modern armaments, it turned out during one of the most pervasively revolutionary years of the 20th century, if not of all recorded history, that the most potent single weapon in nearly every conflict was the video camera. In nation after nation, vastly superior military forces were stood off and frequently compelled to retreat before the symbolic and testimonial power of televised images.

This triumph owed something to journalism, but, ironically, little to journalists. Camera crews found the most striking pictures in public squares, not dark and uninvestigated corners. The function of news people was not sage or analyst but conduit, carrying the raw facts of an amazing reality to the startled citizenry in each revolutionary nation and to a waiting world beyond. Following decades in which American journalists too often saw themselves as pivotal to the stories they covered, the thrills of 1989 and early 1990 came as useful reminders that the most interesting part of the news business is, in fact, the news.

For broadcast journalists, events proved anew that the chief element of their much discussed power is the simple capacity to reach many people quickly—and, in cases of true turmoil, with a verisimilitude no other medium offers. In the communist world just as much as in the U.S., it seemed, TV's basic function was as the great legitimizer. Surely other factors mattered. But it is noteworthy that in Eastern Europe, where uprisings succeeded, revolutionaries found access (if occasionally by force) to the state TV studio, while in China, where revolt failed, the media were only briefly sympathetic before being jerked back under government control.

In Romania the struggle for the TV station was perhaps the most dramatic, and maybe the most important, skirmish of the brief civil war. Former newspaper editor Silviu Brucan recalls that as he drafted the first statement to be televised by the country's new leaders, he had to hunch on the floor because just above him snipers were still spraying the walls with bullets. Outside, pitched battle loomed between forces loyal to dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and unarmed citizens, who formed a human shield around the TV



**The function of news people was not that of sage or analyst but conduit, carrying reality.**



building. "There was no other way to reach the people," Brucan recalls. "There were no papers, and nobody would have believed them anyway. This was the clearest possible symbol, before the execution of Ceausescu, that he was no longer in total control, that something big had changed."

Once the rebels took control of TV, they set up an interim government in front of the cameras. Policy and principles were debated. Military men and students made

statements. Members of the Securitate and ousted government officials were dragged into view. It was symbolic that government itself, a secret process under Ceausescu, was conducted more or less openly—except for one pivotal event. Two days after the fact, edited footage was shown of the secret trial of Ceausescu and his wife Elena. Over and over, the station aired a clip showing them dead after execution, a hole visible in the dictator's head. For a population long skeptical of anything official, seeing was essential to believing. And while these images were meant primarily for home consumption, many were accompanied by translations into English.

In Czechoslovakia, where change came more peacefully, the outpourings of emotion in mass rallies and candlelight vigils sometimes had the air of being staged media events. They were meant to convey the reality of change to the mass of stay-at-home citizens—and, again, to the Western press. As soon as the Communists lost their grip in Poland and Hungary, among the first people to lose their jobs were directors of local TV stations. Would-be replacements were grilled about their commitment to objective reporting.

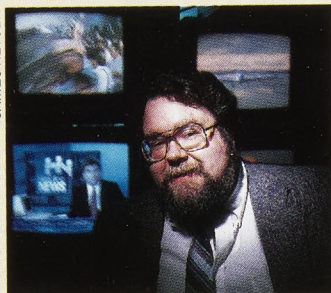
In China, for one brief week in mid-struggle, journalists and audiences got a glimpse of what a free press might be like. Newspapers and broadcasters abruptly began to give remarkably objective, colorful and candid coverage of the sit-ins in Tiananmen Square. Students were shown talking with Premier Li Peng as equals, pointedly asking questions and pressing demands. Li came across as an abrasive schoolmaster. It was a public relations disaster for him, a coup for his challengers.

How did this come about? The journalists were emboldened by party leader Zhao Ziyang—subsequently ousted—who instructed news bureaucrats that open reporting of the unrest posed "no great risks." He characterized such openness as an "international progressive trend," which reflected "the will of the people at home." This sort of thinking has since been rooted out. The new party general secretary, Jiang Zemin, told top Chinese editors in November, "When the antigovernment riot took place, some mass-media departments prepared public opinion for the schemes of plotters of the counterrevolutionary rebellion and added fuel to the flames."

The problem, even in China, is putting the genie back into the bottle. Once viewers anywhere, from Bucharest to Beijing, have seen unvarnished video truth, propaganda looks pretty unpersuasive.

—With reporting by John Borrell/  
Prague and Jaime Florcruz/Beijing

JAMES KEYSER



**HENRY, A TIME SENIOR WRITER, WON THE 1980 PULITZER PRIZE IN CRITICISM AS TELEVISION CRITIC FOR THE BOSTON GLOBE. HE HAS WRITTEN OR CONTRIBUTED TO 18 BOOKS**

PETER CHARLES WORTH—JB PICTURES

PIERRE VAUTHY—SIGMA



# Covering Cuba, Where Time And Socialism Stand Still

BY JAMES CARNEY

**T**he perils and pitfalls of reporting the news in Soviet bloc countries used to make terrific grist for books and bar tales by Western reporters. Now democratization in the Soviet Union and revolution in Eastern Europe have given reporters unprecedented access to state and party officials, religious leaders and dissidents, and ordinary citizens caught up in extraordinary events. In Cuba, however, the disintegration of the Soviet status quo has made reporting the news more, not less, difficult.

Communism's fall in the East has coincided with a domestic crackdown in Cuba, where adherence to Marxism and allegiance to Moscow was a postscript to a nationalist revolution. While Mikhail Gorbachev has preached *perestroika*, Fidel Castro has condemned deviation from the socialist path. In the past year, Castro has devoted more of his rhetoric to attacking Gorbachev's reforms than to savaging *Yanqui* imperialism. And although strained ties with the Soviet Union have brought serious food shortages to Cuba, the Cuban leader has continued to resist change. "If destiny assigns us the role of being one of the last defenders of socialism," Castro declared recently, "we will defend this bastion with the last drop of our blood."

With Castro's prophecy approaching reality, both East and West have come to view Cuba and its leader as anachronisms. In turn, Havana has isolated itself even more from outside observers. Since the late 1960s, the government has made it impossible for the U.S. press to base reporters there, forcing them to rely on the whim of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington for visas. Cuban helpfulness in that regard has always fluctuated, but since last summer it has been extremely difficult for most major U.S. news organizations to get

visas for anything but official events.

Castro's government let down its usual guard last spring when it allowed more than 700 members of the foreign press to witness Gorbachev's Havana visit. No attempt was made to stop the visitors from interviewing dissidents. On the night before Gorbachev's arrival, leaders of three

you that, but there was no evidence at all coming out of Cuba."

It wasn't until several weeks after Ochoa and three other defendants had been executed that a group of U.S. journalists was allowed to enter the country for the 30th anniversary of the revolution. The reporters were warned in Havana that anyone caught visiting human-rights activists would be expelled and prevented from returning. The *Post's* Preston was among a handful who decided to gamble. Just hours before flying back to Miami, the reporters visited three dissidents. After Preston's article was published, all three activists were



J.B. DIEDERICH—CONTACT

CASTRO WITH GORBACHEV: ATTACKING *PERESTROIKA* MORE THAN IMPERIALISM

**"WE WILL DEFEND THIS BASTION WITH THE LAST DROP OF OUR BLOOD"**

small human-rights groups held a press conference in a Havana home. Police hovered outside but didn't break up the meeting or harass the press. Two days later, however, nine dissidents were arrested and charged with planning an illegal demonstration in front of the Soviet embassy.

The real stonewalling came a few months later, after the sensational revelation in Havana that high-ranking military officers, including the popular General Arnaldo Ochoa Sánchez, had been accused of helping the Medellín cartel to smuggle cocaine. Frantic press appeals for visas met rejection, leaving

the American press to cover the story from Miami and Washington. The result: rumors, repeated often enough, began to pass for fact. "In the first days of the drug scandal, many Cubans in the U.S. believed Ochoa had been plotting a coup," says Washington *Post* correspondent Julia Preston, who began covering Cuba in 1985. "You could find 50 sources in Miami to tell

arrested, charged with "disseminating false news" and sentenced to prison.

The Cuban press crackdown is not aimed merely at Americans. Last year a British correspondent for Reuters, based in Havana, was expelled because of his coverage of the drug trials. In fact, two Soviet publications—*Sputnik*, a sports magazine, and the *glasnost*-boosting *Moscow News*—have been banned from Cuban newsstands. A Czech reporter was expelled this year after making a radio broadcast to Prague in which he said that Cuba "reminds me of a calm before a storm, but of a Romanian type. It does not look as if a gentle revolution is going to take place here."

The Cuban Communist Party has since announced a small shake-up among its top leadership and a campaign to reinvigorate party work: signs, perhaps, that Castro may believe gentle reform is the only way to avoid East European-style revolution. Modest liberalization, in turn, could bring about an improvement in relations with the U.S. and an opening to the media. But until that welcome change comes, covering Cuba will be something like covering the Soviet bloc of old—harder to enter, but just as easy to get thrown out. **OPC**



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# Caught in the Cross Fire: The Press and the Intifadeh

BY JON D. HULL

**A**mong Israeli officials the cartoon is considered a classic: on a street corner in the occupied territories, masked Palestinians carefully prepare for a demonstration amid klieg lights and foreign television camera crews. As an unsuspecting Israeli patrol approaches, a Palestinian raises clapper boards and speaks into a walkie-talkie: "Five seconds . . . Stand by."

The staging of protests is just one of the many charges that have been leveled against the foreign press corps in Israel since Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip launched the *intifadeh* in December 1987. Says Robert Slater, chairman of the Foreign Press Association and a reporter for *Time*: "We have been accused of everything from creating the *intifadeh* to biased reporting to collusion with the Palestinians."

In a year when longtime nondemocratic governments are easing restrictions on the press, the democratic state of Israel has been cracking down. Journalists charge that the government is attempting to discredit their West Bank and Gaza coverage, which all agree has had a negative impact upon Israel's international image. They complain of such obstacles as military censorship, misinformation, physical harassment and

even arrest. But nothing frustrates efforts to report more than a single sheet of paper issued by Israeli troops at trouble spots throughout the West Bank and Gaza. The pertinent sentence reads, "I hereby declare the area as a closed military zone."

That document enables the army to bar reporters at will from any or all of the occupied territories. "It is my sense that the army and the border police are determined to keep TV cameras as far away from any violence as possible," says ABC News correspondent Dean Reynolds.

"They have largely succeeded." The army insists it is acting on the basis of legitimate military considerations, an explanation many foreign journalists reject.

In March 1988, after the army sealed off the territories for three days to all but a small pool of escorted reporters, the Foreign Press Association appealed unsuccessfully to the Supreme Court. Says Slater: "From the army's standpoint we are undoubtedly a nuisance. But a country that professes to be a democracy does not close off areas just because the press is a nuisance."

The ubiquitous roadblocks

DAVID RUBINGER



**A FORMER EDITOR OF SAN FRANCISCO MAGAZINE, HULL IS NOW JERUSALEM BUREAU CHIEF FOR TIME.**

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have been a tradition  
for generations.



are only the most obvious examples of the constant tension between Israel's democratic principles and its security needs. "The nation is the only democracy in the Middle East," says Joel Brinkley, New York Times Jerusalem bureau chief. "But it is a democracy with many holes." In their defense, Israeli officials point to the restrictions imposed on the press by the U.S. during the invasions of Grenada and Panama, and by Britain during the Falklands war. "I see no clash here between the freedom of the press and democracy," says Nachman Shai, spokesman for the Israel Defense Forces. "Any democracy has the right to defend itself." Relations between the media and the government have deteriorated further since a 1988 ABC News report that Israeli security agents had impersonated an ABC film crew in order to arrest a Palestinian in the West Bank. The government denied any involvement, but reporters' suspicions were confirmed in March 1989 when a TV crew from Visnews, the British agency, videotaped two undercover policemen posing as journalists and arresting Palestinian demonstrators in East Jerusalem. The police agreed to stop the



PETER TURNLEY—BLACK STAR

#### PRINCIPLE VS. SECURITY: A CAMERA-SHY SOLDIER

#### JOURNALISTS WHO REPORT ON SENSITIVE ISSUES RISK HAVING THEIR CREDENTIALS REVOKED

impersonations after a storm of protests by reporters, who charged that such ploys jeopardized their lives.

Ironically, correspondents who report on what Israel considers to be sensitive security issues—including undercover police work—risk having their credentials revoked for violating Israel's military censorship laws. In the 40 years before the *intifadeh*, only two foreign journalists had

their credentials lifted. Since then, five reporters have been punished with temporary suspension. For journalists working in the West Bank and Gaza, these obstacles are coupled with the constant threat of physical danger, both from rock-throwing Palestinians and from gun-toting Israeli soldiers. Dozens of journalists have been struck by stones and the potentially lethal rubber and plastic bullets used by the Israeli army. Amazingly, no journalist has yet been killed. Says Reynolds: "It's like, 'Well of course I won't get shot.'" Since last summer three of his cameramen have been injured by rubber and plastic bullets, one seriously.

Israeli officials insist that tensions are easing between the government and the press. In fact, most officials are simply relieved that world attention has shifted elsewhere in recent months. Contrary to Israeli assertions, the decline in coverage has had no apparent impact on the level of violence in the territories. Says Reynolds: "They think this story is dead. Frankly, I think they're wrong. It's going to come back and haunt them." **OPC**



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GIDEON MENDEL—MAGNUM



## Battling Apartheid Means Winning Press Freedom

BY ZWELAKHE SISULU

**T**he other day I was walking into the lobby of the building where our newspaper, the *New Nation*, is located. Suddenly, I heard a group of black guards from Diepkloof Prison in Soweto shouting "Viva African National Congress!" They were heading to a strike meeting. These are the people who used to search our cells to see if we were hiding reading materials. Now they want to join the democratic movement. One's jailers are becoming one's allies.

The lifting of some of the emergency regulations by President F.W. de Klerk on Feb. 2 means that we are able to cover topics that were previously taboo, namely the activities of more than 60 political organizations, including the African National Congress. De Klerk also lifted the restriction that had made it illegal for newspapers to quote any of more than 300 political activists. These have been the most dramatic improvements in press freedom in the memory of an entire generation. It is essential that we have the right to free expression and association. That's what sets democracies apart from dictatorships. Much, in fact, still needs to be done.

Media legislation has had the effect of instilling self-censorship. Aggressive journalism has not exposed political and financial corruption in government. Meanwhile, readers and viewers developed a logic of opposites. When they heard something on the government-controlled news, they understood that the opposite was more likely to be true. That is why the alternative press be-

came so important. Alternative publications have credibility. Recently, the Afrikaans weekly, *Vrye Weekblad*, broke the story that government hit squads had killed political activists. The very existence of *Vrye Weekblad* is a development of immense importance.

The greatest threat to South African journalism has not been the press restrictions but rather the security legislation permitting detention without trial for up to three years. My own case is a good example. My career began in 1975, when I started on the now defunct *Rand Daily Mail*. Since that time, I have worked effectively as a journalist for only four or five years. In 1981 I was detained for one year under the Terrorism Act. Upon my release, I was under restriction orders until 1983. I joined the *Sowetan*, a black newspaper, as a political reporter but then spent the 1984-85 academic year on a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard. Returning to Johannesburg, I founded the *New Nation*. The harassment then resumed.

One night around 2 a.m., a group of balaclava-clad men burst into my house. I was eventually taken to a police station to begin a three-month detention without trial. During the interrogation, I was told, "We know you work with the military wing of the A.N.C." But the police had no evidence against me. My sense is that while they were deeply suspicious of

THE AUTHOR'S FATHER, WALTER SISULU, AT A RALLY IN JOHANNESBURG

**"IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO FREE EXPRESSION"**

my A.N.C. contacts, they were more worried about the aggressive stance of the *New Nation*.

Later that year, the police detained me again. I spent the next two years in jail, but I was interrogated for no more than 30 minutes. Their objective was not to get information but to keep me off the streets. They were not threatening. I was not mistreated.

Upon my release in December 1988, I remained under restriction orders until Feb. 2 of this year. That meant I could not resume work as a journalist. I could not conduct interviews or be interviewed. I could not enter an educational institution. I had to be at my house between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. I had to report twice a day to a police station. I could not leave Johannesburg without permission.

Now I am back at work. The changes since February have been so dramatic as to affect the character of our newspaper. Writing about the A.N.C. viewpoint—a delicate task when the organization was banned—had been almost our exclusive domain. Now all the mainstream papers are covering the A.N.C. Even the state-owned South African Broadcasting Corp.'s television and radio quote Nelson Mandela almost every day. We in the alternative press need to ask ourselves whether we still have a role to play. It is ironic that while we worked hard to create freer press conditions, the realization of those conditions could sideline the alternative press.

I am optimistic about the future of the country. There has been a powerful shift in the consciousness of South Africans, black and white. Black people are angry, but that does not necessarily translate into a hatred of white people. One of the tragedies of Africa has been that the press in the colonial period did not identify with the liberation struggle. In our country, we journalists have earned our place in a future free society. During the struggle, we made our fight against apartheid a fight for freedom of the press. **OPC**

PETER MAGUBANE



**SISULU, ACTIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S ANTIAPARTHEID PRESS SINCE 1975, IS FOUNDING EDITOR OF THE NEW NATION.**





UNO'S "MR. CLEAN" IMAGE FADED AFTER A GEISHA TALKED

**THE PRIME MINISTER, WHO WAS SOON TO RESIGN, AT A JUNE PRESS BRIEFING**

## What's the Japanese Word for Watergate? Recruit

BY BARRY HILLENBRAND

**L**ike Watergate, Japan's big political scandal of the decade started out as a local story. And like its U.S. counterpart, the episode was perhaps the most vivid example to date of the tenacity and investigative skill of the Japanese press.

The story began to unravel in April 1988, when two reporters from the Yokohama bureau of Tokyo's *Asahi Shimbun* began following a police investigation into the finances of Hideki Komatsu, the deputy mayor of Kawasaki, an industrial center adjacent to Tokyo. A large employment-agency and real estate conglomerate named Recruit had sold Komatsu stock in a corporate subsidiary before shares were offered to the public. Komatsu resold the stock after it went on the market, when the price, as expected, increased dramatically. Komatsu made a killing.

The transaction was not illegal, since the police could not prove that Komatsu had granted any favors to Recruit. But *Asahi* reporters generated enough heat that in June 1988, Komatsu was fired. The fate of the deputy mayor of Kawasaki was a very local story indeed, but soon nearly every Japanese newspaper and television station was on the scent of Recruit. Every reporter, it seemed, had a list of people who had profited from Recruit's generosity. The revelations forced prominent citizens, such as Hisashi Shinto, chairman of NTT, Japan's mammoth telecommunications company, and Ko Morita, president of *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, Japan's leading economic daily, to admit they had dipped their fingers into the company's sugar bowl.

The press kept looking for illegality. Finally it surfaced—on TV. On Sept. 5, 1988, Nippon Television Network broadcast a videotape of Hiroshi Matsubara, a director of one of the Recruit companies, passing money to Yanosuke Narazaki, a member of the opposition United Social Democratic Party, who had arranged the videotaping. The audio recorded the Recruit man asking for help in the upcoming Diet investigation of the Recruit scandal. Three months later, Matsubara pleaded guilty to bribery charges.

In December 1988, a little more than eight months after *Asahi* began developing the story, the first really big political fish was netted. Kiichi Miyazawa, the urbane Minister of Finance, resigned his Cabinet position. By then Recruit had become a minor industry. Two other top politicians resigned their party positions under the constant press battering: former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and former Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe. Finally, in June 1989, Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita succumbed to a precipitous decline in popularity and vacated his office in favor of Sosuke Uno, the Foreign Minister.

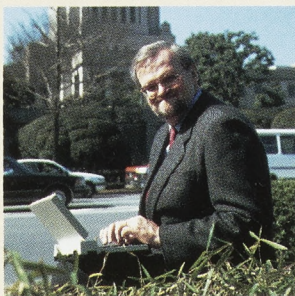
Uno was touted as "Mr. Clean"—there was no Recruit money in his pockets—but his nickname was soon soiled. A weekly magazine published an interview with a woman, described loosely as a geisha, who claimed that Uno had had an affair with her. The mainstream Japanese press, for all its ardent Recruit sleuthing, hesitated to publicize the allegation. "No one ever paid attention to the sexual affairs of politicians before," a senior editor explained.

Times had changed, but not by much. Japan's male-dominated major national press ran with the Uno scandal only after the *Washington Post* published a story about it. Even then the Japanese gave the story a different twist. There was only limited tut-tutting over the fact that Uno had had an affair; such liaisons are accepted behavior for a man of power. Instead the Japanese press focused on the possibility that Uno's actions might hurt Japan's reputation and therefore hinder Uno's capacity to conduct, well, foreign affairs.

After little more than two months in office, Uno resigned, following his party's defeat in elections for the upper house of the Diet. Japanese news outlets correctly attributed the election debacle and Uno's departure to public anger over an unpopular new consumption tax and the lingering after-taste of the Recruit scandal. Uno's sex life was a secondary issue with the electorate and with the Japanese press.

Scandals, and the outrage they generate, have a natural life of their own. Sooner or later they wither away. Recruit was no exception. Once Toshiki Kaifu, a true Mr. Clean, replaced Uno as Prime Minister and once most of Recruit's beneficiaries were indicted, stories about the scandal appeared less frequently. But the word Recruit, like Watergate, entered the political lexicon as a synonym for corruption—and entered journalistic annals as a story that gave the Japanese press an increased sense of significance in the country's political life. **OPC**

SHIGEO KOGURE



**BARRY HILLENBRAND, A TIME CORRESPONDENT FOR 22 YEARS, HAS FILED CORRUPTION STORIES FROM SUCH EXOTIC LOCALES AS RIO DE JANEIRO, SAIGON, BAGHDAD, TOKYO AND CHICAGO.**



# THE STORY OF A GOVERNMENT THAT ALMOST DIDN'T HAPPEN.

In 1787 a group of concerned citizens wanted to see the proposed Constitution go down to defeat. They viewed it as a plot to install a tyrannical government, not unlike that of the despised British colonial system.

The alarm was triggered not by what they saw, but by what they didn't see.

After the injustices the colonies suffered under the Crown, how could they be expected to ratify a document that contained no explicit guarantee for the protection of individual freedoms?

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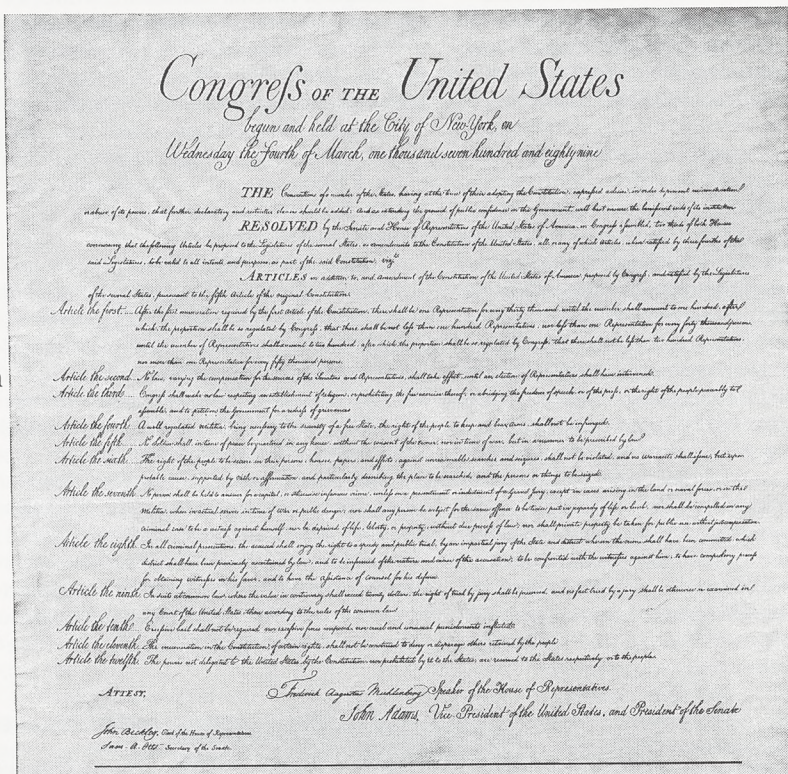
Ultimately, the proposed Constitution was ratified, but not before reassurances were given that it would be amended to correct its shortcomings. That process took 2½ years, but in the end we had something very special—the Bill of Rights.

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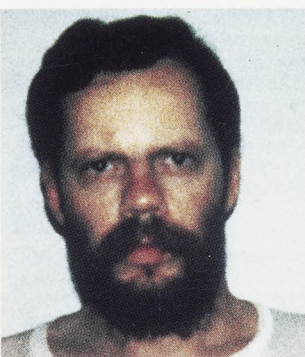


# A Dangerous Profession

BY NORMAN A. SCHORR, Chairman, OPC Freedom of the Press Committee

**F**or all the democratic upheaval that marked 1989, for all the welcome advances in press freedom in many countries, the year was marred by an unprecedented number of attacks on journalists elsewhere in the world. Both Freedom House and the Committee to Protect Journalists document more than 1,000 anti-press incidents in 1989, including at least 53 murders, 300 arrests or other cases of detention, 40 beatings, 50 other assaults and 40 shutdowns of publications or radio stations. In each of these categories of abuse, the 1989 figures were substantially higher than those of previous years.

South American countries accounted for most of the murders. The People's Republic of China headed the list for journalists jailed. In fact, as a result of the crackdown that followed last spring's democracy movement, the number of correspondents and editors detained in China has more than doubled since last year's statistics were tallied.



Terry Anderson

LENA KARA—SIPA

The record of the "new" countries has not been admirable in establishing press freedom. In too many cases, national groups that had fought for independence and a free press have been quick to deny free expression by any newspaper, radio or television station carrying criticism of the government or reports on political opponents.

According to a list prepared by the Committee to Protect Journalists, there were 78 colleagues in 19 countries who, as of mid-March 1990, were being held prisoner or hostage or under house arrest, most often under trumped-up charges—or no charge other than a story or broadcast that offended someone in power. In other words, the only crime was an attempt to serve the people's right to know.

The list:

## CHAD

**Mahamat Fadoul**—Journalist with the state-controlled Radio Tchad, detained without charge since April 1989 in connection with a crackdown on the Zaghawa ethnic group following an alleged coup attempt.

**Moussa Nene Ahouna**—Journalist with Radio N'Djamena and Radio Bardai, detained without charge since 1987, reportedly under suspicion of being an agent for Libya.

## CHINA

**Gao Yu**—Journalist with *Economics Weekly*, has not been seen since early June 1989, although she is not believed to have been killed in the Beijing massacre.

**He Qiu**—A shipyard worker involved with various unofficial publications, sentenced in May 1982 to ten years' imprisonment for "inciting violation of the laws and decrees of the state."

**Liu De**—Editor at *Jiannan Literature and Art Journal*, sentenced in 1987 to seven years' imprisonment on "counterrevolutionary" charges for making a speech critical of the Chinese Communist Party.

**Tseten Norgye**—A hotel bookkeeper, reportedly arrested in 1989 in Lhasa after police searched his house and found a mimeograph machine allegedly used to print literature advocating Tibetan independence.

**Wang Xizhe**—Factory worker and editor of the unofficial journal *Responsibility*, sentenced in May 1982 to 14 years' imprisonment for "counterrevolutionary" activities.

**Wei Jingsheng**—Editor of the unofficial journal *Exploration*, sentenced in 1979 to 15 years in jail and three years' deprivation of political rights for disseminating "counterrevolutionary propaganda" and for passing "secret information" to a foreign journalist.

**Xu Shuilang**—A contributor to unofficial journals, arrested in July 1981, apparently for publishing articles critical of socialism.

**Xu Wenli**—Co-founder of the official journal *April Fifth Forum*, sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for

## The Deadliest Beat in the World

**W**hen gunmen killed Sylvia Duzán in February, the 28-year-old Colombian freelance reporter was interviewing campesino leaders in the town of Cimitarra, 185 miles north of Bogotá. In a macabre irony, the project she was developing for a British television station was tentatively titled "Colombian towns that have left violence behind."

Duzán was the 16th journalist killed in the previous twelve months in Colombia, where drug violence has made journalism a dangerous profession. Enrique Santos Calderón, an editor and columnist for Bogotá's *El Tiempo* and a prominent critic of the drug barons, spent several months in self-imposed exile following a bombing at his home. Says Calderón, who has returned to his outspoken ways: "We journalists aren't soldiers, but we have become the first line of defense."

The Circle of Bogotá Journalists recently concluded that "authorities either cannot afford us protection or do not take our dilemma seriously enough," in the words of journalist Edda Cavarico, who herself receives weekly telephone calls warning, "We

are going to kill you." Many Colombian journalists have chosen to flee their homeland to live overseas as a result of such death threats and the discovery of lists of assassination targets.

Many reporters and editors who cannot afford to move abroad have decided upon another strategy. A poll last year showed that 53% of Colombia's journalists have chosen to tone down their coverage of narcotics stories. This self-censorship, says oft-threatened *El Espectador* reporter María Jimeno Duzán, is "worse than censorship by the state." Says Duzán, sister of slain journalist Sylvia Duzán: "Every time we write an article, every time we walk out the door of our homes, we put our lives on the line." **OPC**



EL ESPECTADOR OFFICES AFTER LAST YEAR'S BOMBING

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—BLACK STAR



"organizing a counterrevolutionary group" and for "counterrevolutionary propaganda and agitation."

**Zhu Jianbin**—Co-founder of the unofficial journal *Sound of the Bell*, arrested in April 1981, apparently for efforts to organize the National Association of Democratic Journals.

The following Chinese journalists are believed to have been arrested in 1989 during the crackdown on the democracy movement:

**Chen Lebo**—Director of reporting on the Chinese economy for Shanghai's *World Economic Herald*, arrested in July, has reportedly been beaten in detention.

**Chen Ziming**—Publisher of *Economics Weekly*.

**Dai Qing**—One of China's most prominent journalists, Dai worked at *Enlightenment Daily*, a newspaper aimed at Chinese intellectuals, before her arrest in July.

**Fan Jianping**—An editor with *Beijing Daily*.

**Fei Yuan**—Deputy editor in chief of *Economics Weekly*.

**Guo Yanjun**—Journalist with *Law Daily* in Beijing, believed to have been arrested in July.

**Hou Jie**—Journalist with *Beijing Daily*.

**Jin Naiyi**—Journalist with *Beijing Daily*.

**Li Jian**—Reporter with *Literature and Arts Weekly*.

**Lu Liling**—Member of the editorial staff of *Development and Reform*, the journal of the Research Institute for the Reform of the Economic Structure.

**Ruan Jianyun**—Deputy director of the *World Economic Herald's* Beijing bureau.

**Song Yuchuan**—Journalist with *People's Daily*.

**Wang Juntao**—Associate chief editor of *Economics Weekly*, arrested while trying to flee China.

**Wang Ruowang**—Prominent Shanghai-based author and journalist, arrested in mid-September.

**Wu Xuecan**—Reporter with *People's Daily*.

**Xu Xiaowei**—An editor of *World Economic Herald*.

**Yang Hong**—Correspondent in Yunnan province for *China Youth Daily*.

**Zhang Shu**—Reporter with the *People's Daily* overseas edition, arrested after he wrote a special edition of the paper describing the June 24, 1989, Central Committee meeting at which Zhao Ziyang was formally ousted as Chinese Communist Party General Secretary.

**Zhang Weiguo**—Reporter and head of the Beijing bureau of Shanghai's *World Economic Herald*.

**Zheng Di**—Journalist with *Economics Weekly*.

**Zheng Yi**—Writer and frequent contributor to *People's Literature* and *Literature Monthly*.

## IRAN

**Mariam Ferouz**—Former editor in chief of the women's magazine *Jahan-e-Zanan* (Women's World), believed to have been held since the early 1980s.

**Malekeh Mohammadi**—Former editor of several pre- and postrevolution publications, believed to have been held since the early 1980s without charge or trial.

## ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

**Talal abu Afifeh**—Editor at the Arabic-language daily *Al-Fajr*, sentenced in March 1989 to two years in prison.

**Yakov Ben-Efrat**—Journalist with *Derech Hanitzotz/Tariq Al-Sharara*, sentenced in January 1989 to 30 months in prison.

**Adnan Damiri**—Journalist with the Palestine Press Service and *Al-Awdah*, reportedly under administrative detention in February 1990.

**Yusuf al-Ju'beh**—Journalist administratively detained in February 1990, reportedly to be held for 10½ months.

**Sam'an Khoury**—Stringer for Agence France-Presse and former managing editor of the weekly English-language paper *Al-Fajr*, charged with being a leader of the uprising and now awaiting trial.

**Hassan Abed Rabbo**—Journalist with *Al-Fajr*,

arrested in February 1989 and charged with being a leader of the uprising.

## LEBANON

**Terry Anderson**—U.S. journalist, worked as chief Middle East correspondent for the A.P., kidnapped in March 1985 in West Beirut.

**Alec Collett**—British journalist on assignment for a United Nations agency, kidnapped in March 1985 in a Beirut suburb. Unconfirmed reports say he has been killed.

**John McCarthy**—British journalist on assignment for Worldwide Television News, kidnapped in April 1986.

## MAURITANIA

**Mamadou Mika**—Journalist with the governmental Agence Mauritanienne de Presse, detained without charge since November 1989.

**Ibrahima Sarr**—Radio and television journalist, serving a five-year prison term in connection with a pamphlet alleging discrimination against blacks.

## MYANMAR (FORMERLY BURMA)

**Win Tin**—Former newspaper editor and freelancer, sentenced in October 1989 to three years' imprisonment with hard labor.

## NEPAL

**Gopal Gurung**—Editor of *New Light* and *Thunderbolt*, detained in August 1988 in connection with a book he wrote called *Hidden Facts in Nepalese Politics*.

## PANAMA

**Escolástico Calvo**—Head of Editora Renovación, a pro-Noriega publishing concern, detained by U.S. troops early in the invasion of Panama in December 1989, then turned over to Panamanian authorities.

## PERU

**Hector Delgado Parker**—With Panamericana

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Broadcasting, kidnaped in October 1989 by the leftist group Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amará.

**Janet Talavera**—Acting director of the paper *El Diario*, charged with "apology for terrorism" for an article that allegedly glorified an armed attack on President Alan García Pérez's bodyguards.

## RWANDA

**François Xavier Hangimana**—Journalist with the monthly newspaper *Kanguka*, sentenced to three years in jail.

## SOUTH KOREA

**Kim Chun-ki**—Publisher of *Farmers Together*, reportedly sentenced to two years in jail for publishing materials "praising" North Korea.

**Kim Kyu-chan**—Editor of *Literature of Laborers' Liberation*, arrested in January 1990 in connection with a "defamatory" article published in the magazine in December 1989.

**Kim Sa-in**—Publisher of *Literature of Laborers' Liberation*, apprehended in January 1990 in connection with authorities' efforts to find Park Ki-yong, a union activist and author of a "defamatory" article published in the magazine in December 1989.

**Kim Yong-ae**—With the Wonju bureau of the opposition newspaper *Hankyoreh Shinmun*, sentenced in February 1990 to seven years in jail for revealing national secrets to antigovernment critics living overseas.

## SUDAN

**Dr. Khalid al-Kid**—University lecturer and columnist for the Communist Party newspaper *Al-Midan*, reportedly detained in July 1989.

**Ushari Ahmad Mahmoud**—Freelance writer and editor of *Al-Haqiqa* (The Truth), detained in July 1989 in connection with his reporting on local human-rights abuses.

**Mohamed Mahjoub Osman**—Co-editor of the

independent newspaper *Al-Ayam* (The Daily), detained in September 1989.

**Samir Girgis Massoud**—Freelance journalist, reportedly arrested in July 1989.

**Mohamed Medani Tawfiq**—Editor of *Al-R'ay Al-Amm* (Public Opinion), reportedly detained in March 1989, possibly because of articles he had published that were critical of the military.

**Tijani el Tayeb**—Editor in chief of the Communist newspaper *Al-Midan*, arrested in June 1989.

**Siddig al Zeilai**—Investigative reporter with the Communist newspaper *Al-Midan*, arrested in August 1989.

## SYRIA

**Rida Haddad**—Journalist with the daily *Tishrin*, detained since 1980 without charge or trial.

**Marwan Hamawi**—Former director of the Syrian news agency SANA, reportedly held since 1975 without charge or trial under state-of-emergency regulations.

## TAIWAN

**Chen Wei-tu**—Chief editor of the *Democratic Progressive Weekly*, sentenced in April 1989 to eight years in jail under the Sedition Act.

**Shih Ming-teh**—General manager of *Formosa* magazine, sentenced in April 1980 to life imprisonment in connection with a Human Rights Day rally sponsored by the magazine. In 1988 his sentence was commuted to 15 years.

## TURKEY

**Hikmet Cetin**—Owner of *Deng* (Voice), a political magazine first published in December 1989. Cetin was arrested in February 1990 and charged with membership in an illegal organization.

**Ilker Demir**—Editor of *Kitle*, a banned journal associated with the Turkish Socialist Workers Party, sentenced on charges of "communist

propaganda." His sentence has been variously reported as eight years, 23 years and 48 years.

**Mehmet Fehim Isik**—Correspondent for *Deng*, arrested in February 1990 and charged with "disseminating separatist propaganda."

**Sedat Karakas**—Editor in chief of *Deng*, arrested in February 1990 and charged with membership in an illegal organization.

**Mehmet Ozgen**—Editor of *Bagimsiz Turkiye* (Independent Turkey), serving a sentence of more than 30 years.

**Alattin Sahin**—Editor of the weekly *Halkin Yolu*, serving a 36-year sentence in Canakkale prison.

**Erhan Tuskan**—Editor of *Ilerici Yurtsever Genclik*, sentenced to 48 years and ten months in jail.

**Hasan Fikret Ulusoydan**—Editor of *Halkin Sesi* (Voice of the People), which is associated with the Turkish Workers and Peasants Party, imprisoned since November 1980.

## UGANDA

**Hussein Abdi Hassan**—Stringer for the BBC's Swahili and Somali services, arrested in February 1990 in connection with a question he asked Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda at a press conference.

## VIETNAM

**Doan Quoc Sy**—Professor and novelist who contributed to the literary magazine *Sang Tao*, sentenced in April 1988 to nine years in jail.

**Tran Duy Hinh** (also known as Thao Truong)—Journalist and author, detained in April 1975.

## ZAIRE

**Baudoin Mangala**—Editor of the opposition UDPS clandestine magazine *Le Combat*, currently held under house arrest in Kinshasa for meeting with a delegation from the U.S.-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. **OPC**

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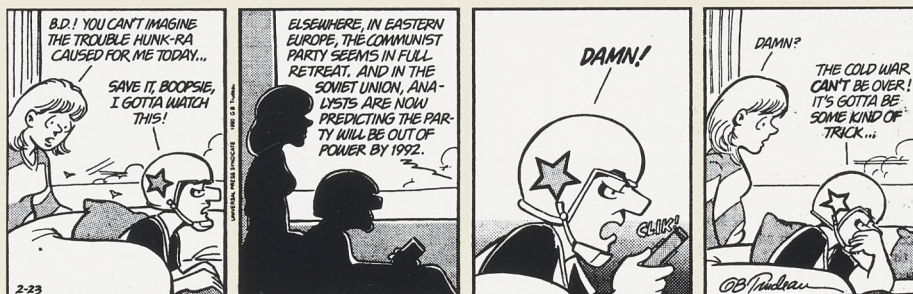
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A MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE OPC

# Goodbye Soviet Threat, Hello Soviet Trade



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BY LEONARD SAFFIR

**T**he cold war is over! So what's a good foreign correspondent going to do now? He's going to have to grow some economic tentacles in a hurry. A look at major articles in a recent single edition of the *New York Times* gives a hint:

- General Motors agreed to invest as much as \$600 million in a joint venture with the larger of East Germany's two carmakers.
- In Eastern Europe, Hungary is leading the way in shifting trade away from the Soviet Union. The about-face has jolted many Hungarian companies that grew fat and happy relying on the huge Soviet market.
- Prodded by entrepreneurs and some policymakers, the Czechoslovak government is expected to pass liberal private-enterprise laws.
- A new international development bank will provide loans to help not only Eastern Europe's private sector but also its public sector.

All this in a single day's paper! Clearly, it's a whole new ball game for foreign correspondents as we enter the last decade of the 20th century.

ICBMs and payloads are now words reserved for the use of historians. Today's foreign correspondent had better know about nonconvertible Russian rubles and devalued Polish zlotys. Economic crises are the new order of the day, and certainly economics is at the center of the political changes in the Soviet Union.

What is missing from the front pages and the opinion columns of America is the communist threat. What we're all going to have to come to grips with is that there is no big enemy out there any longer.

Maybe someone will come up with a new enemy: Japanese trade policy, AIDS, pollution,

world hunger, the Department of Motor Vehicles—it's too early to say. For now, however, the Soviet Union is just another minor-league demon. Instead of horror stories about the depredations of the Soviet Interior Ministry and the KGB, the focus of the '90s for U.S. foreign coverage will be the dying Soviet economy and predictions of whether the U.S. will abolish trade barriers with the Soviet Union. Instead of reading *Pravda*, knowledgeable Western journalists will have to start perusing the weekly newspaper *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*. That's where they'll find the manifesto for the next phase of *perestroika*.

Ever since the Overseas Press Club was founded, there have been hot and cold wars throughout most of the world. Actually, it was the war clouds building up in Europe in 1939 that prompted a handful of correspondents to start the OPC. Over the past half-century, the foreign-correspondent members of the OPC followed the action: World War II, Korea, Viet Nam, the Berlin Wall.

They feared nothing. Reporters, photographers and camera crews rushed to the battlefields. More than 200 of these men and women paid with their life. Andy Rooney, a former foreign correspondent, wrote some time ago that the difference between a soldier and a journalist is that the journalist doesn't have to be there. Bob Capa, the great photographer, once said about war photographers, "If your pictures aren't any good, you weren't close enough." Bob was always close enough.

Now, in the new era, tomorrow's OPC awards and Pulitzerz will start going to those who write, possibly, about bread and coal prices. In the U.S. we will need to know how the European Community's planned 1992 unification affects our lives. The news beats may not be as thrilling, but the consequences will be just as important as they were for the other big stories of the past 50 years.

As the media—print and broadcast—go about the business of examining these important, complicated new subjects, keeping the public informed will be harder than ever. It's exciting. The territory is unmapped. All of us at the Overseas Press Club look forward to the next 50 years. **OPC**

TIM CLARY



**SAFFIR IS PRESIDENT OF JAY DE BOW & PARTNERS, AN INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRM.**



The Washington Post

# PARADE

## THE QUESTION OF ABORTION

*A Search for Answers  
By Carl Sagan and Ann Druyan*

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